

JANUARY 1938

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

CURRENT HISTORY

PENDLETON LEE



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General
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★ This issue is the first in which *Current History* appears in a new home. The magazine is much larger than ever before in its quarter-century history. When the magazine was first issued during the war, it seemed then to be the perfect size. It was compact and easily handled. But now styles in magazines are changing. *Current History* has chosen to go the way of the full size because it offers a better opportunity for a more effective presentation, making use of maps, charts, graphs and other illustrative material.

★ The cover shows Mr. Hitler in his best bargaining mood. The editors were going over a wide variety of pictures of Der Fuehrer for the photographic section (page 73) when the report came that England and France were ready to give in and let Hitler have some of the colonies taken away from him under the Versailles Treaty. Hence the photo, in which Mr. Hitler seems to say, "It's good you didn't decide to call me on that hand. You see, gentlemen, I had four aces and a deuce." (International Photo)

★ One of the new features of the magazine is *Letters-to-the-President*. Yes, the letters have actually been sent to the White House. And many people will be surprised to learn that if the President sees them at all, he will see them for the first time in *Current History*. For Mr. Roosevelt's mail is the largest in Washington's history, and it takes a large staff of people just to open the letters, let alone read them. (Page 18.)

★ Another new regular feature is *Latin-American Notes*—notes on events in Central and South America. The editors feel that this feature will fill a long-felt need by presenting a comprehensive and continuous picture of nations whose importance to the United States is not measured by the present news coverage.

★ Just what the present war means to Japan and her chances of complete victory are lucidly explained by **William Henry Chamberlin** in *Japan's Stake in Empire*; Mr. Chamberlin is the Christian Science Monitor correspondent in Tokyo, and Little, Brown have just published his latest book, *Japan Over Asia*.

★ Captain **Andrew Tolstoy** (*Post-Mortem on an "Incident"*), a graduate of a famous Russian military school and a relation of the great Russian novelist, contributes a piece of work worthy of any Sherlock Holmes in investigating the responsibility for the "incident" that started the Shanghai conflagration.

★ Switching to an entirely different field, we come to **Joseph Jastrow**'s penetrating and original analysis of the burden imposed upon the community by those who cannot carry their weight in society and what can or should be done for them (*The Wise Man's Burden*). Dr. Jastrow, whose conclusions will start some weighty pondering, is a prominent psychologist, author, and lecturer. A former president of the American Psychological Association, he has recently been lecturing at the New School for Social Research.

★ In the current craze for dictatorships, little attention has been paid to a flourishing one in our own backyard—that of General Trujillo in Dominica. Perhaps that is because so little information can be obtained about it. However, **Carleton Beals**, whose latest book, *America South* (Lippincott), has cemented his reputation as a leading authority on Central and South American affairs, draws aside the veil of silence and reveals a riotous scene and a leading figure in whom Dr. Jastrow might well be interested (*Caesar of the Caribbean*).

★ Amidst all the cries about "boondoggling," "government extravagance," and so forth, it is refreshing to get a straight, cool, statement of just what the W.P.A. is and what it has done. No one could speak with more authority on this subject than **Corrington Gill** (W.P.A.), the Assistant Administrator of this enormous project.

★ There has been almost as much emotional controversy concerning Palestine. **H. G. Wells**, who needs absolutely no introduction, and whose range of knowledge is peerless, has set himself to put *Palestine in Proportion* in a brilliant and provocative essay.

★ On their return home, the ladies of the "Flying Caravan," who have sought to bring peace to this continent, will find **Genaro Arbaiza**'s open letter (*Arming the Good Neighbors*) waiting for them. Mr. Arbaiza has been a frequent contributor to *Current History* and other periodicals, and the ladies in question will find his advice discouraging, but weighted with authority and, what is more, vitally interesting.

★ "America's Best Union," the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which just surprised the nation with its amazingly substantial balance sheet, is the subject of the fifth of **Herbert Harris'** series on Labor in America.

CURRENT HISTORY

JANUARY 1938

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The World Today in Books

N. B. COUSINS

TEN OUTSTANDING BOOKS OF NON-FICTION IN 1937

THE annual selection by Current History's Literary Advisory Board of the ten outstanding non-fiction works of the year finds these books on the 1937 list:

- Andrew Jackson: Portrait of a President*, by Marquis James;
Bulwark of the Republic, by Burton J. Hendrick;
If War Comes, by R. Ernest Dupuy and George F. Eliot;
Life and Death of a Spanish Town, by Eliot Paul;
Middletown in Transition, by Helen Merrell Lynd and Robert S. Lynd;
The Arts, by Hendrik Willem van Loon;
The Growth of the American Republic, by S. E. Morison and H. S. Commager;
The Miracle of England, by Andre Maurois;
The Nile, by Emil Ludwig;
The Ultimate Power, by Morris L. Ernst.

It seems fair to say that the books on this list would enable an historian, with little else in the way of reference material, to write a colorful and comprehensive narrative of the year. For they reflect contemporary thought and contemporary events to a very large degree. Politically, 1937 in domestic affairs may be known as the year of the unsuccessful attempt by the President to enlarge the Supreme Court. In world affairs, the year has seen the Coronation of an English King, the continuation of the Spanish civil war, and the outbreak of war in the Far East. And culturally, there were many manifestations of a new and growing consciousness of the world of the arts by those who form the broadest base of the social structure. All these events and trends are minor or major themes of many of the books on the list, which as a whole, qualifies as "highly worthwhile," according to the definition of H. A. Taine, eighteenth century French philosopher, who said that a worthwhile book mirrors the way in which man thought, felt and therefore did during a particular period.

Six books on the "outstanding" list

THE selection of the ten outstanding non-fiction books of 1937 was made by *Current History's* Literary Advisory Board, the members of which are:

- VAN WYCK BROOKS, literary critic and author of *The Flowering of New England*, Pulitzer Prize Winner in History.
HENRY SEIDEL CANBY, former editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature*.
JOHN DEWEY, educator and philosopher.
AMY LOVEMAN, associate editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature*.
DOROTHY THOMPSON, political commentator, writer, lecturer.
JOHN W. WITHERS, Dean of the School of Education, New York University.
M. E. TRACY, editor and publisher.

are particularly rich for the material they offer the reader seeking an understanding of current happenings. *The Ultimate Power* and *Bulwark of the Republic*, for example, provide the background and perspective necessary to any consideration of the Supreme Court issue. Mr. Ernst investigates the role of the judiciary all the way back through history to the Founding Fathers, and Mr. Hendrick writes the story of the Constitution and the men who made it and interpreted it, in the form of a "biography" of the document. Then, too, there is Andre Maurois' *Miracle of England*, which was published in a year when England was in a brighter limelight than any time since the beginning of the World War. The abdication, the Coronation, the key part played by Britain in European diplomacy—all these served to focus attention and interest upon the Empire, and M. Maurois' book covered many phases, political and psychological, of England's history. On the topic of the Spanish war, we have Eliot Paul's *The Life and Death of a Spanish Town*, a book whose greatest effectiveness was in its non-military approach. And for those who are concerned over the recurrent war

scares, *If War Comes* is profitable reading. And finally, *Middletown in Transition*, by the Lynds, provides America with a mirror which reflects its development in culture and out.

The remaining four books are in the categories of biography and history, although two of them do not strictly come within these classifications. *The Nile* is in reality the biography of a river, and *The Arts* is a history, although its greatest value lies in its interpretive qualities. *Andrew Jackson: Portrait of a President*, completes the life of Jackson, the first volume of which earned a Pulitzer Prize for Mr. James. *The Growth of the American Republic*, which is published in two volumes, qualifies as a new work although the framework is the same as that constructed by Mr. Morison and Mr. Commager in an earlier study under the same title.

In announcing the list selected by the Literary Advisory Board, the members of whom are listed in a box at the beginning of this section, the editors realize that of the many thousands of non-fiction works published during the year, the selection of ten as "best" is virtually impossible. Three-quarters of the year's non-fiction never grew out of a first edition. And of those which enjoyed additional printings, a comparatively few were introduced to the reading public through the usual review and announcement channels.

What the Board has done, then, was to limit eligibility to non-technical works and to give consideration only to those books which filled satisfactorily several conditions: a candidate for the list should make some distinctive contribution to the field embraced by its topic; it need not be scholarly, but it should bear the marks of good scholarship; it should serve some function; it should be well-written; and finally, it should have some promise of permanence.

Whether any or all of the books finally selected will fulfill the promise of permanence is a question which only the years can answer. Last year's list has held up remarkably well. *The*

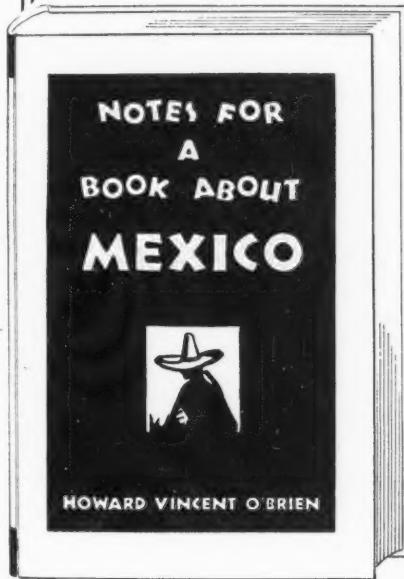
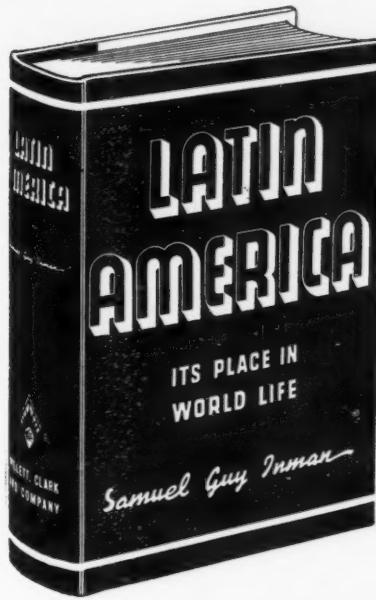
Latin America

ITS PLACE IN WORLD LIFE

By Samuel Guy Inman

Dr. Inman's qualifications to write authoritatively concerning the twenty republics south of the Rio Grande are universally recognized. Sympathetically but realistically he gives the background, history and culture of these countries, their present state of evolution—or revolution—and their international relations, especially with our own nation. This is the most thorough, accurate and up-to-date survey available on the subject of Latin America.

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By HOWARD VINCENT O'BRIEN

If you had the opportunity to travel in Mexico plus an expert reporter's instinct for going to the right places and talking to the right people—to President Cardenas, Diego Rivera and Trotsky, to aristocrats in their homes and to peons and urchins on the street—and if you could then set down on paper a vivid, human, wholly entertaining account of your experiences, you might possibly have a record faintly rivalling Mr. O'Brien's *Notes* in warmth, intelligence and interest. To read them is like traveling with an understanding, kindly and humorous friend whose rare humanity illuminates the obscurities of a strange and fascinating land and its people.

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★ ★ ★

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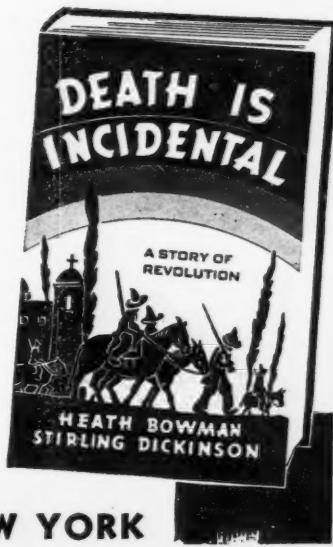
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Two Years of Selections by the Literary Advisory Board

1937

Andrew Jackson: Portrait of a President,
by Marquis James (Bobbs Merrill)

Bulwark of the Republic, by Burton J.
Hendrick (Little Brown)

If War Comes, by R. Ernest Dupuy and
George F. Eliot (Macmillan)

Life and Death of a Spanish Town, by
Elliot Paul (Random House)

Middletown in Transition, by Robert S.
Lynd and Helen M. Lynd (Harcourt
Brace)

The Arts, by Hendrik Willem van Loon
(Simon and Schuster)

The Growth of the American Republic,
by S. E. Morison and H. S. Commager
(Oxford)

The Nile, by Emil Ludwig (Viking)

The Miracle of England, by Andre
Maurois (Harpers)

The Ultimate Power, by Morris L. Ernst
(Doubleday)

1936

A Diplomatic History of the United States,
by Samuel Flagg Bemis (Holt)

A Program for Modern America, by
Harry W. Laidler (Crowell)

An American Doctor's Odyssey, by Dr.
Victor G. Heiser (Norton)

Hamilton Fish, by Allan Nevins (Dodd
Mead)

Inside Europe, by John Gunther (Harpers)

John Reed, by Granville Hicks (Mac-
millan)

Sweden: The Middle Way, by Marquis
W. Childs (Yale Univ. Press)

The Downfall of the Gold Standard, by
Gustav Cassel (Oxford)

The Flowering of New England, by Van
Wyck Brooks (Dutton)

*The Letters and Journal of Brand Whit-
lock* (edited by Allan Nevins) (Appleton,
Century)

Flowering of New England, by Van Wyck Brooks, one of the judges serving on the present Literary Advisory Board, won the year's Pulitzer Prize for history and has already become a landmark in American literature. *Inside Europe*, by John Gunther, has become a fixture; it is revised and brought up to date every few months. *An American Doctor's Odyssey* is still high on the list of non-fiction best-sellers and has created a great popularity for its author, Dr. Victor Heiser. *Sweden: The Middle Way*, by Marquis W. Childs, is said to be largely responsible for the creation of a special committee by President Roosevelt to study cooperatives and has become a standard reference work on that subject. Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis' *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, though not a popular best-seller, has enjoyed an unusually wide circulation in libraries and universities and has been adopted for use by many of the latter institutions.

It will be interesting to observe whether the 1937 list may make as good, or even better record. A number of the books are already well on the way. *The Arts*, about which Mr. Brooks has said that "it really makes one believe that art is something to be enjoyed," has sold more books in the few months since its publication than the usual non-fiction best-seller would sell in an entire year. The sales on Mr. Van Loon's book have totaled almost 200,000—an impressive figure when it is realized that the average sale of a non-fiction book is in the vicinity of

1,000 copies. *The Life and Death of a Spanish Town*, *Andrew Jackson*, *The Nile*, *The Ultimate Power*, *The Bulwark of the Republic*, *Middletown in Transition*, and *The Miracle of England*, according to their past sales, at least, show promise of long endurance. What recognition other than through sales these and the other books on the list may earn offers another interesting thought for the future.

Middletown in Transition has established Muncie, Indiana, as America's great test-tube community and it would not be surprising to find the country looking to that town every few years for a reflection of its development and its trends. And both *Bulwark of the Republic* and *The Growth of the American Republic* have been mentioned prominently as the outstanding histories of the year. Mr. Paul's *Life and Death of a Spanish Town* has been hailed by many critics as the literary non-fiction event of 1937. And *Andrew Jackson: Portrait of a President* lives up to the high

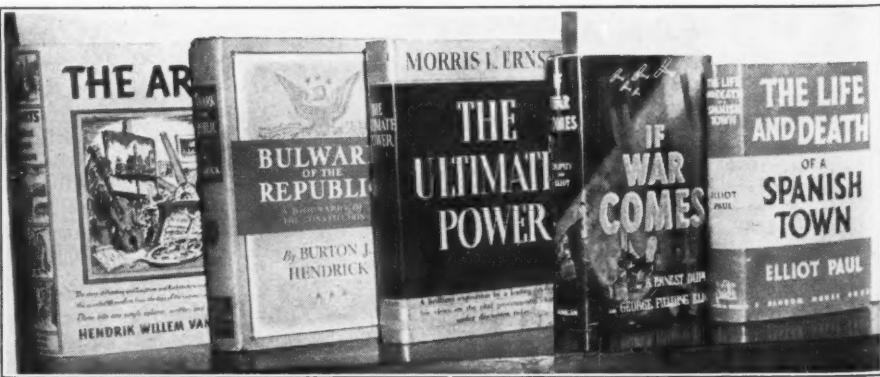
tradition set for it by Mr. James' earlier Pulitzer Prize biography.

Although members of the Board submitted their nominations separately, the compilation showed that there was an extremely high degree of agreement on most of the books. A five-way tie for the last four places on the list threatened for a time to make the selection become the "eleven outstanding non-fiction works of 1937" instead of ten. It was decided, however, to keep the list to ten books and a place of honor instead of an eleventh place was established. A re-vote gave this "place of honor" to *Goliath: The March of Fascism*, by G. A. Borgese.

Other books which figured prominently in the nominations were *A World History of Art*, by Sheldon Cheney; *The Importance of Living*, by Lin Yutang; *From These Roots*, by Mary M. Colum; *Beloved Friend*, by Catherine D. Bower; *The Journal of Eugene Delacroix*, translated by Walter Pach; and *Invertebrate Spain*, by Ortega Y Gasset.

Current History's purpose in sponsoring these annual selections is to give greater emphasis to non-fiction literature of definite merit. While it is not the intention of the editors to minimize in any way the importance of fiction, it is their belief that serious books should be accorded a greater attention and a wider audience than they now receive.

The World Today in Books, literary review section of *Current History*, reviewed eight of the ten books selected by the Board during the course of the year. These reviews follow in brief. Though they have been shortened, there has been no editorial revision seeking to take out whatever "thorns" or criticisms may have appeared for the purpose of falling in line with the selections by the Board. No such editing was necessary. It is a source of pride to the editors to observe that all the eight books were favorably reviewed:



Bulwark of the Republic

Mr. Hendrick, a biographer of distinction, has sought to view the Constitution and the Supreme Court through the personalities contributing to its history, as well as through the biography of the document itself.

Flowing again through his pages is the entire stream of Constitutional personalities—Washington, Madison, and Marshall to Taney, Lincoln, Holmes and the rest. The Chief Justices Marshall and Holmes, each of whose tenure was a century apart, embody the spirit and achievements of the Constitution in their day, says the author.

Mr. Hendrick's work takes the reader only up to the earlier part of the twentieth century. In a detailed introduction, however, he indicates that the dispute over the President's Supreme Court proposal will not serve to diminish the prestige of the Court. Despite the struggle today between the Executive and the Judiciary, he says, both Nation and Court will emerge without any loss to the people in popular liberties. The Supreme Court has been the subject of attack before and may see its "wings clipped again." But the flexibility of the Court and its ability to regain its high estate in the opinions of the people will enable it to survive the "present onslaught."

The author believes that the Supreme Court has seen a new light. It has "taken a stand in harmony with the best purposes in the modern world." Minimum wages for women, —probably also for men,—maximum hours of labor, will find no threat before the Court.

Andrew Jackson

It is with Andrew Jackson's presidential years and his period of retirement that Marquis James is primarily concerned. In a previous volume, *Andrew Jackson: The Border Captain*, Mr. James portrayed Old Hickory as a personality and a soldier. Now we see how those same qualities which

carried Jackson to the top as a soldier were to establish him as one of the greatest popular presidents in the history of the nation. To Jackson has gone the honor of having more towns, cities, and counties named after him in the United States than after any other president—or anyone else, for that matter. So deeply, in fact, has his impress been upon American history that we have come to refer to his period in office as the Jacksonian Epoch.

A Pulitzer Prize winner in history, Mr. James again demonstrates that he is one of America's greatest biographers. His new work is a distinctive contribution to historical literature.

If War Comes

If war comes—and the authors will not hazard a guess as to the date nor the exact lineup of nations—it will be fought along lines similar to those of the World War. The development of new weapons and a new military technique is slow and evolutionary, they point out, and it is generally true that new wars begin where the last ones left off. They recall, too, that Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice once wrote with perfect truth that "no weapon, from David's sling to mother tank, has yet revolutionized war, though the claim has been made for scores of inventions during my life." During the next war, there will be no radical changes. Planes will figure more prominently in the plans of the armies, land forces will be divided into smaller, more mobile units, and will have better protection and a greater degree of mechanization, and greater emphasis will be put upon anti-aircraft operations. But as for death rays and similar "horror" inventions, the authors declare such devices exist solely in the minds of third-rate fiction writers who, "like Pickwick's Fat Boy, 'like to make yer flesh creep.'"

If War Comes is profitable reading. It is filled with all sorts of valuable information about arms and armies,

"Perhaps the most deeply moving and satisfying book of 1937."
—GANNETT, *Herald Tribune*

THE LIFE & DEATH of a SPANISH TOWN

by Elliot Paul

"For sheer literary flavor it has not even been approached by any other non-fiction work this year. And for the importance of the story alone, the book warrants the highest ratings ...among the literary events of 1937."
—CURRENT HISTORY
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Life and Death of a Spanish Town

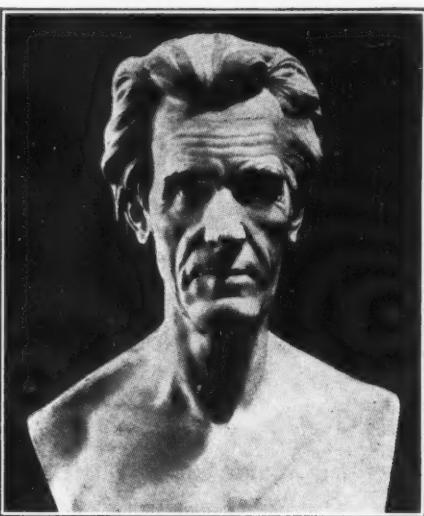
Elliot Paul will tell you about war horrors that fell out of nowhere upon a peaceful town and a peaceful people. It was in the remoteness of Santa Eulalia on the island of Iviza in the Balearics that Mr. Paul, who lived in the town, and his Spanish neighbors found a certain security and an even stronger community of interests among themselves than might ordinarily prevail in a small town of that size. And even when General Francesco Franco gave the order that was destined to injure, if not utterly destroy, one of the world's oldest cultures, the people of Santa Eulalia were apprehensive but not worried or seriously disturbed. They thought that the uprising would be a one-month affair, at most, regardless of which side would be the victor. But the little town was sucked into war—no mere temporary uprising but a war of ghastly proportions.

Invasion, not by one force, but by fascists, loyalists, and anarchists, swept across the face of the island. The towns became death-traps; the only avenue of escape was by sea, but where could one get a boat and if one could, would the boat get through?

Elliot Paul and a small group of friends, as an American party, were able to capitalize upon the international prestige of the Stars and Stripes and were taken off the island

by a German destroyer. But that was after fascist planes on September 13 had bombed nearby Iiza, killing 55 licencos, almost all of whom were women or children.

Elliot Paul can write. For sheer literary flavor, *The Life and Death of*



From *Andrew Jackson*, by Marquis James
A bust of General Jackson, sculptor unknown, on exhibition at the Louisiana State Museum.

a Spanish Town has been approached by few non-fiction works this year. And for the importance of the story alone, the book warrants the highest of ratings. The combination should establish *The Life and Death of a Spanish Town* among the literary events of 1937.

Middletown in Transition

The work by Dr. and Mrs. Lynd is their second sociological study of Muncie. The first, *Middletown: A Study*

in *Contemporary American Culture* was published eight years ago and is believed to be the most important document on an American community of the pre-depression period. It is more than a decade since the first study was begun and Dr. Lynd has visited Middletown again in response to a curiosity among sociologists as to what changes, if any, took place during the years when the bottom fell out of the nation's economic flooring and headlines were linked across the continent. But the authors have not restricted themselves to the lean years alone; their chronicle carries through to the Presidential election of last year and to the Middletown of today.

Middletown as a whole, the Lynds report, is in a state of transition. There is no question concerning the process of change, but its direction is not clearly charted nor is its outlook decisive. The Lynds conclude that it is a course of "reluctant adaptation," recalling Tawney's characterization of Europe's ruling class which after the French Revolution "walked reluctantly backwards into the future, lest a worse thing should befall them."

Middletown in Transition is a penetrating inquiry into an American mode of life.

The Arts

Here is not merely a compendium of facts on the history of the world's great painters, musicians, composers, architects, sculptors, but a live, moving translation of the life story of the arts with one of the day's outstanding minds as your guide. There is no such thing as a dead and buried past with Van Loon. "The Taj Mahal," he says, "is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful buildings ever devised by the genius of man, but when you approach Brooklyn Bridge without any prejudice it is quite as beautiful and even more imposing."

The Arts is not to be judged on the basis of its reference value, for it was not the author's intention to write a reference work. Like a painting, its value lies in its interpretative qualities. He views the history of the arts as he would a beautiful panorama he might paint, seeing things that to others might remain obscure; passing over detail that to others might seem important; using blues and yellows where others might use pinks and greens. When you read *The Arts*, read it not for a list of names of history's great artists, nor for a list of their accomplishments, but for the depth and richness of Van Loon's observations, for

Questions and Answers

Answers on Page 79

- What is a "wildcat strike"?
- To what position was Nathan Strauss recently appointed?
- What is the largest country in South America?
- What is the second largest country in South America?
- Which of these countries has recently become a corporate state with a dictator at the helm?
- Who is Governor of the Virgin Isles?
- What is the chief export commodity of the United States?
- Who was president of the Senate in 1933?
- Who is King of Italy and approximately how long has he ruled?
- What were three countries formed in Europe as a result of the World War?
- What department of the U. S. Government was in charge of Prohibition?
- What two Presidents of the United States were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize?
- What is the Dole System?
- Leopold is King of what country?
- Has the munitions embargo against Italy been lifted by President Roosevelt?
- Did the C. I. O. recently hold a meeting that authorized the expulsion of the A. F. of L.?
- Does China still have an Ambassador in the U. S.?
- Who is known as the Liberator of South America?
- Who was the first President to visit Europe and what were the circumstances of his visit?
- What position did the late Samuel Gompers hold?
- What names do the middle initials of the following well known men represent: Herbert C. Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, George H. Ruth, Charles A. Lindbergh, Thomas A. Edison.
- To what position was John L. Lewis elected in 1920?
- Did President Roosevelt estimate the Deficit to be in the millions or the billions?

the power of his perception that enables you to capture the dimensions—artistic, emotional, spiritual—of the people who stroll through his book. *The Arts* will vie with Van Loon's *Rembrandt van Rijn* as his greatest work.

The Miracle of England

M. Maurois thinks it a miracle that from a few barbaric tribes on an island could come the "masters of one-third of this planet." The author uses "miracle" in the sense of an incredible, surpassing wonder and he has sought to break down English history into its component parts and discover the genesis of empire; in a phrase; "to probe the secret of a destiny as fortunate and impressive as that of ancient Rome."

England's evolution has been slow and persistent. Its graph shows variations, to be sure, but there has been no sharp rise or decline. Conservatism has charted England's course, and M. Maurois points out that Balfour once remarked that it was better to continue something absurd than to be guilty of an innovation, even though wise.

Will the Empire, or even England itself, endure? M. Maurois will make no prediction save that as seems apparent after an analysis of her history: "On sea and land and in the air, England has great armaments; but the strength of her people springs equally from the kindly, disciplined, trusting, and tenacious character molded by a thousand years of happy fortune."

As a fount of information, M. Maurois' history of England adds little that has not already been capably supplied by John Richard Green, Pollard, and Trevelyan—native Englishmen—but his own interpretations and clear, lucid presentation are ample justification for another work on a subject that few historians have been able to resist.

The Ultimate Power

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(Continued on Page 80)

THE WORLD AT YOUR FEET



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And the Result?

EXIT 1937, with little applause and no curtain calls in prospect. Like most of its predecessors, it satisfied only those who believe in shadow-boxing and mauve-tinted dreams. There were peace conferences a-plenty, but no war was stopped. There was much sympathetic talk about distress, unemployment, and poor business, but very little of constructive value was accomplished.

Not only 1937, but the last twenty years appear destined to go down in history as the great quack era of modern times. While laughing at simple souls for buying patent cough-medicine or complexion preservers, great governments do not hesitate to buy or manufacture unproved remedies for world-wide aches and pains. Our own neutrality splurge provides a vivid illustration of this. So does the non-intervention farce with respect to Spain.

Last winter, President Roosevelt told us that a third of the nation was living below par and that something ought to be done about it. Presto! A Court Revision Plan, sprung from the notion that the submerged third could not be effectively helped without first hobbling our highest tribunal of justice.

Some people found it so hard to see the connection that a six-months' wrangle ensued, with Federal programming stalemated and with the elevation of Mr. Justice Black to the Supreme Bench as the outstanding result.

Meanwhile, the submerged third was left to worry along as best it could. An eleventh-hour or eleventh-month impulse to attempt a belated rescue led to the special session of Congress now in progress, but again the approach seems indirect. The submerged third will be uplifted by farm bills, wage hour-bills, and government reorganization bills, with tax relief for business thrown in for good measure.

Business, you understand, needs to get back some of that "parity" which was taken away from it at the outset to help farmers, laborers, and consumers. The job was apparently overdone, and now it becomes necessary to refill the pocket that was first emptied.

The idea of balancing things by special favors, first to one group and then another, lends drama to our efforts, if nothing else.

Meanwhile, the Federal Treasury continues in the

red, with no considerable easing of its load or increase of its revenue in sight. If business is relieved of taxes, the loss must be made up by digging into some other pocket, but *whose* pocket?

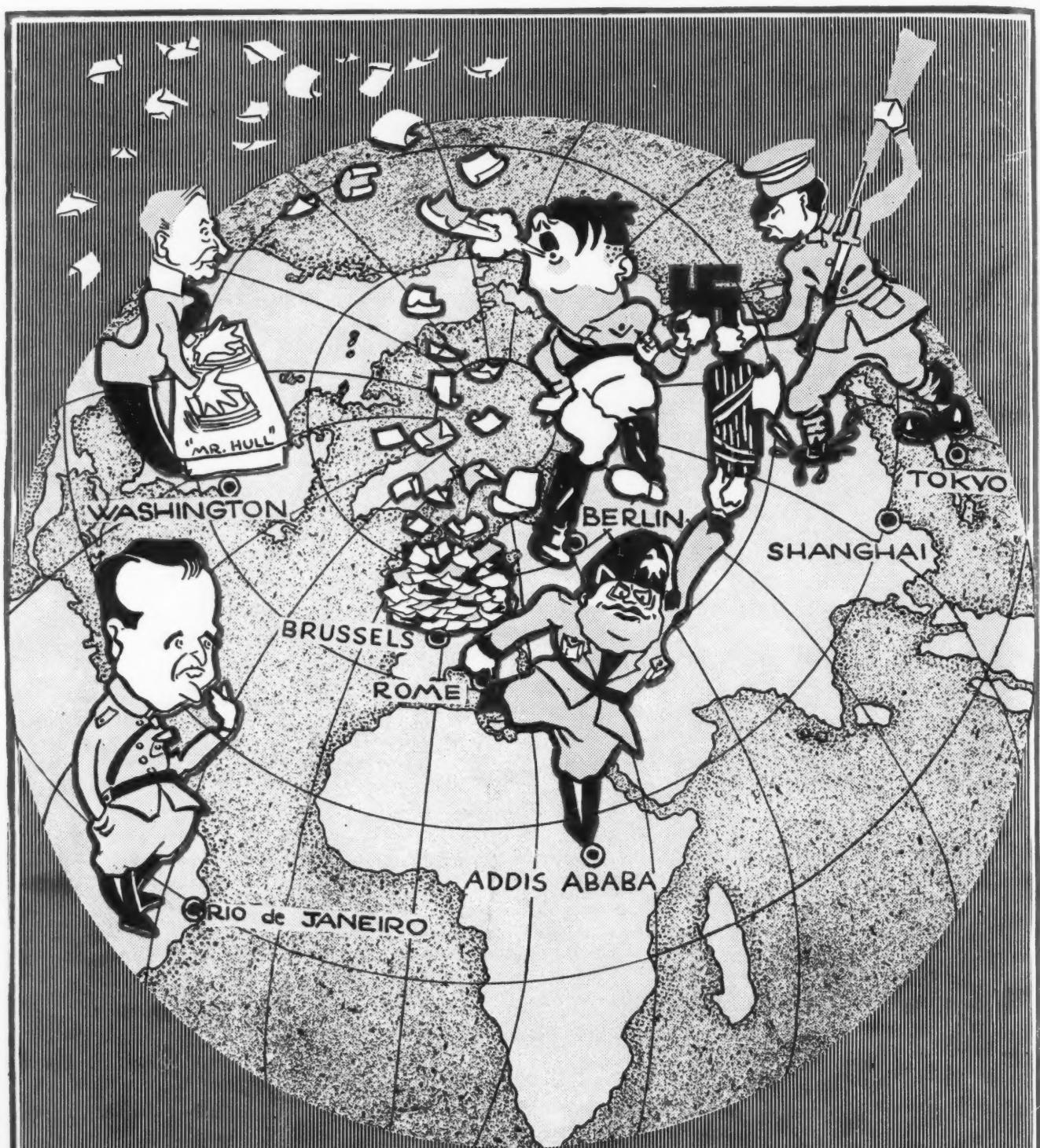
It has been suggested that Federal road aid might be reduced or withdrawn, but how would that help the submerged third? Also, it has been suggested that relief appropriations might be cut, but again how would that help the submerged third?

Passing up the problem of how to balance the budget and dish out favors at the same time, let us consider neutrality, that great safety-first device, by which the United States would stand forth as a shining example of isolation and impartiality. The only way we have been able to deal with the Sino-Japanese situation and keep a straight face is by forgetting to admit that a war exists. Of course, a war *does* exist, but as long as we ignore the fact officially, we do not have to enforce neutrality. Our real attitude is expressed more genuinely by ships bearing freight than by any measure that has been adopted. The measure is there, however, and we can always point to the Italian boycott or the Lytton Report on Manchuria.

Officially, the conquest of Ethiopia was not a war. Neither was the invasion of Manchuria. Officially, the present unpleasantness in China is not war but just an excursion of brotherly love and friendship. Officially, the Nine Power Pact remains in force, though some people are stubborn enough to believe that it has been openly and successfully violated.

Faith in words as superior to action and in romancing as superior to realities has led humanity so far away from fundamental principles that it is no longer considered unusual, much less reprehensible, for a government to repudiate its debts, devalue its money, break its word, or lie about war. It is sufficient if the claim of intent and objective sounds right, but in the face of such a situation, how are we going to make our children believe that virtues like honesty, candor, and conscience mean very much?

McHoey



The Brussels Conference is blown away by Mr. Hitler and his Fascist Bloc, while in the Americas, Brazil's new Dictator Vargas ponders new responsibilities; but Secretary Hull is taking no chances with stray foreign winds.

RENATO

HOW IT MIGHT HAVE LOOKED TO THE MAN IN THE MOON

HISTORY IN THE MAKING

BY PRODIGAL expenditure from the Federal Treasury on relief and construction work, currency depreciation, cheap money, and AAA rehabilitation of farm incomes, the New Deal was for a time successful in stimulating a fictitious recovery. In fact, consumer demands were so far expanded in the fall of 1936 that even Roosevelt's enemies feared that he had made good. Not, of course, that those hostile business men were unappreciative of recovery. In the same way a dry sponge soaks up water, business avidly soaked up the hundreds of millions of dollars poured into the stimulation of consumer demands by the Federal Government. However, what maddened business was the reform program enacted concurrently with the release of each New Deal billion dollar pump-primer. It was reform that frightened them and was responsible for the reluctance they displayed in joining with Roosevelt in the sprint back to prosperity.

So it was with perverse rejoicing they noted, in the early days of 1937, that the President and his economic advisers were becoming alarmed at the possibilities of a boom in consumer goods and a serious price-inflation. And business gladly welcomed the official announcement of policy shifts to meet an imminent economic crisis with cries of: "Back to normalcy! Away with crackpot schemes! Let business take over!"

With unbecoming alacrity the Administration heeded such exhortations and began immediately to abate the process of pump-priming; although it was said at the time that Roosevelt remained unshaken in his belief that whatever had been done for recovery had been done with Federal moneys. Nevertheless in addition to cutting relief, gelding the PWA and the WPA, the Administration promised a more orthodox treatment of budgetary problems, and inaugurated a program to check further expansion of bank credit.

Having begun to entrench the New Deal waited expectantly for business to perform the miracle of continuing recovery without Government interference. This miracle business had promised, and it was this miracle that business had no intention of performing not, at least, so long as the Federal Gov-

sweeping reformation hostile to their best interests. In effect, the community of business looked upon the undistributed profits tax as a measure of punishment meted out to them by a gang of liberal socialists, and they saw the Securities and Exchange Commission as a deliberate attempt to throttle the free exchange of securities, and they viewed the TVA as a harbinger of socialized utilities. For these reasons and for many others business struck.

With Congress convened in special session, Roosevelt reluctantly took cognizance of this fact. Strategy indicated that he should take the initiative to woo and win the cooperation of those nervous business organizations blocking recovery. To put it more realistically, strategy indicated that the New Deal should retreat en masse. Roosevelt also realized that tactical problems involved only the form and direction of retreat, while his own immediate concern was to maintain personal prestige and prevent the New Deal retreat from being turned into a rout—for this job the President is peculiarly well adapted. He will not die for an unpopular cause, and he is most happy when leading a multitude, if only to the rear.

Many political observers of differing persuasions have recently attempted to diagram the President's immediate line of retreat. A consensus of these opinions indicate clearly that the New Deal will retreat while fighting innumerable rear guard actions en route. It is agreed by shrewd observers that the underlying reasons for this strategy are something like the following.

President Roosevelt is supposed to believe that the immediate business recession will grow worse before it gets better. Despite his desire to untangle the budget snarl he attributes the disastrous business recession to the cessation of Government spending. Further, he is absolutely convinced that



New York World-Telegram
THE EMERGENCY CASE

ernment insisted that business men consider seriously the mild reforms already imposed upon them.

The inevitable happened. If Roosevelt was fooled it was not for long. A business recession following close on the heels of curtailed Federal expenditures in mid-summer demonstrated that his worst fears were true. The President had never discounted the hostility of business to his program of reform, and he had always suspected that certain factions were actively sabotaging recovery. But what he disliked believing was that business had been, and still was engaged, in a prolonged sit-down strike; that business had not only sucked up the moneys poured out of the Federal Treasury, but had ungratefully refused to collaborate in a recovery program that so prominently emphasized a



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GETTING IT READY

pump-priming is necessary to stop the downward spiral, although he is determined to force Congress, and those business elements who clamored the loudest for a balanced budget, to take the initiative in asking for money. Such money as will be spent in the future, the President favors shunting into armaments, new railway equipment and building construction.

Most attractive, however, of all moves to stimulate business is the privately financed housing boom that the President has already endorsed. He sees the housing problem as the key solution of many allied industries. Utility magnates have, with the materialization of the housing plan, unofficially pledged their organizations to programs of expansion and modernization that have been long delayed.

To further encourage them the President has made clear his willingness to concede much in their favor on capital gains and undistributed profits tax.

WHILE the Roosevelt retreat moves along the entire front it is a fact that sections of the New Deal forces were able to retire to previously prepared positions. Most outstanding of these is the position assumed in relation to utilities. In this field, at least, an effective truce has been arranged between the forces of government and of business.

Leading negotiator in this truce was Floyd L. Carlisle, head of the Consolidated Edison System and the Niagara-Hudson System that together monopolize the power service of New York State. Following a conference with the President, Mr. Carlisle admitted that in the interests of recovery his companies were prepared to spend \$100,

000,000 in a program of expansion. Behind this change of heart was the understanding that such a program would be predicated upon the assumption that the President's housing boom would increase the demand for power service.

As for the TVA bogey man, utility magnates from the South and West have been assured that the Federal Government contemplates no further expansion nor does it contemplate active competition with privately owned companies. The power projects already in operation can serve little more than 10% of the nation's needs and will be considered in the future as yardsticks to insure reasonable rates for the public and establish a fair return on a prudent investment. The rest of the nation, the President is supposed to have assured the utility mag-

nate and construction some 3,000,000 workers will be directly affected by such wage and hour provisions. Available data place the greatest number of below-40-cents workers outside of large cities in the Southern States. In comparing the position of common labor in the North with that of the South surveys show that 31.1% of the Northern workers receive less than 40 cents, while the figure is 98.1% in the South.

However, long before the first data were offered in testimony the Southern legislators had characterized the wages and hours bill as a Yankee stratagem calculated to ravage the incipient growth of the long-heralded Southern industry. With sectional chauvinism they are hurling every known political sabotage into the legislative machinery in an attempt to wreck the bill. And in turn they are stirring up other sectional groups which have been in hibernation since 1933.

It was Mrs. Mary T. Norton of the House Labor Committee who unwittingly exposed the mental condition, not only of herself but of her colleagues when she warned agrarian Congressmen that the proposed farm bill was due for trouble unless they got behind the wages and hours bill. And her apology for making such a threat was candid and revelatory. "Personally," she apologized, "I do not believe in voting in blocs, according to sections, but I am sorry to say that I am in the minority on this point."

And if this is a straw in the wind, all prophecy concerning the future of the present Congress is worthless. For political sectionalism creates, through the medium of barter and sabotage, a future both unpredictable and meaningless.



YOU'RE INVITED TO COOPERATE, TOO

nates, could be considered by them as the property of private business.

OSTENSIBLY, the special session of Congress was called to expedite the passage of a farm bill and of a wages and hours bill. Neither has progressed rapidly toward enactment. The farm legislation bogged down on the question of compulsory participation, while the wages and hours bill experienced its greatest difficulty in weathering the assaults of sectional interests again coming into their own on the floors of Congress.

Legislation of wages and hours is predicated on the idea that a minimum wage provision will increase the national purchasing power by raising the wages of the lowest paid groups, and that a maximum hour provision will divide jobs and create work. Industrial surveys indicate that in mining, manu-



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SEE, HE CAN WALK BY HIMSELF!

WHO KILLED THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE?

THE Brussels Nine-Power Conference, billed before the world as the first fruits of a new era of Anglo-American cooperation, proved two things: China will have to fight her own battle; and, for the time being at any rate, Anglo-American cooperation is a pipe dream. Neither of these facts was unexpected, but the con-

ditions giving away no diplomatic secrets in stating this! The main consolation for the Chinese was that it is a difficult job to transport men or munitions from the French Indo-Chinese railway terminus to the Asiatic battlefield. Nevertheless, Paris' move served to hasten the stampede at Brussels.

Any coroner investigating the causes of the death of the Brussels Conference would examine first the condition of Anglo-American cooperation. It was clear that the English would take no action if the Americans did not. And it was equally clear that the Americans would do nothing if they were not supported by the British.

What the Americans were actually prepared to do will probably be left for Mr. Davis' autobiography. But there are grounds for believing that the Administration sent its delegation over to England ready to go the limit, short of military action. For Japan is on the American doorstep; it is known that Mr. Hull would like to see a stronger front presented to the dictators, and anti-Japanese sentiment in this country is running high.

Be this as it may, it is apparent that Great Britain was not willing to take action against Japan. In short, Mr. Chamberlain's talk about "hands

across the sea" and Mr. Eden's expressed willingness to go to the ends of the earth to seek American cooperation were just so much eye-wash. For England has her hands tied in Europe; what is more, she is following a policy of trying to buy off the "have-not" dictators with concessions—and implied promises of loans. And a tip-off comes in a *New York Times* report of December 4, that Great Britain is seeking to appease Japan in order to preserve her commercial interests.

The Brussels Conference saw, in fact, a repetition of the futile attempt at Anglo-American cooperation during the Manchurian episode, which former Secretary of State Stimson has described in his autobiography. That, too, was followed by a visit of a Federation of British Industries delegation to Manchukuo—a visit that was, incidentally, a dismal failure.

Anglo-American cooperation in trade, as exemplified by the virtually concluded commercial agreement, cannot offset the failure in the diplomatic sphere. The one gain is that the condition of any further and effective cooperation is now clear: both nations must agree upon the policy which they are to follow with respect to the world's aggressors. For just at present, the British Government would rather cooperate with Japan than with the United States.



THE DOVE OF PEACE

ference served to put the record straight.

On November 12, Japan had blankly refused to cooperate, and Germany was the only willing mediator on the horizon. So the conference drafted a mild resolution, pointing out that the conferees would have to consider what their common attitude would be and suggesting that Japan was out of step with the rest of the world. Three days later the resolution was endorsed by 15 powers; Italy opposed it, and three Scandinavian nations, fed up with the whole affair, abstained from voting. It was only a matter of days before the conference finally dissolved.

On November 13, France hastened the great retreat. It was announced that all movements of arms or ammunition or men from French Indo-China to bolster the crumbling Chinese defenses were prohibited. There were simultaneous and indignant denials that Tokyo had had anything to do with this step. Imagine the French embarrassment, then, when Senator Henri Bérenger, the chairman of the French Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, guilelessly—or perhaps not so guilelessly—announced that the Japanese had threatened to occupy Hainan Island and possibly some Indo-Chinese ports should the French fail to impose such an embargo; he was, he thought,



THE CHICAGO TOUCH IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

EUROPEAN HORSE-TRADING

NOVEMBER and December have seen an inordinate amount of horse-trading in Europe. Initiating these diplomatic dealings was the November 17 visit of Lord Halifax to Germany, to interview Herr Hitler in his mountain retreat. Following the series of diplomatic rebuffs Germany

due to a long-sought "general settlement" which would envisage the Reich returning to some form of political cooperation with other nations, presumably through a mild, if not meaningless, League of Nations, and perhaps to a greater degree of economic cooperation as well. In return for this boon, con-



THREE-RING CIRCUS

has administered to Great Britain, this seemed a daring move. But as the British Cabinet must have argued, Lord Halifax, as Viceroy of India, had been able to handle Gandhi, so perhaps he could manage der Fuehrer too.

All official reports of the meeting were naturally shrouded in vagueness. Certain facts, however, are clear. The British Government is anxious to make an agreement with Germany as a pre-

cessions should be made to Germany's thwarted ambitions.

At this point, interpretations of the Halifax visit diverge. The first view is that these concessions will take the form of grants of colonies. The second view is that the British Government would divert the colonial demand by giving Germany a free hand in Central and Eastern Europe.

Supporting the first interpretation has been the general discussion of the colonial question in diplomatic statements and in the press, combined with the fact that Messrs. Chautemps and Delbos were apparently not downcast after their visit to London, the latter immediately embarking upon a tour of Poland and the Little Entente.

But the weight of evidence favors the second view. But the chief argument in favor of it is the group who were responsible for Lord Halifax' trip. The project was planned at Clivesden, the country estate of Viscount Astor, the publisher of the London *Times*, which has been noted for its pro-German views. Helping to hatch the plan were the Marquis of Lothian, the English Nicholas Murray Butler, whose professed Liberal views persuade him to

make concessions to the "have-not" Germany, and, in the Cabinet, Sir Samuel Hoare, Sir John Simon, and Viscount Hailsham; these latter are the Hoovers and the Hamilton Fish's of present-day England. The composition of this group suggests that the free hand for Hitler in Eastern Europe was the bargain most likely to be made.

Supporting this thesis were the threatened resignation of Anthony Eden, who has always stood out against this policy, and the reported disaffection of Sir Robert Vansittart, the key man of the British diplomatic service; the strong editorial warning in Eden's organ, the *Yorkshire Post*, presumably lent weight to a view to which he could not persuade the cabinet. Again, immediately after the Halifax visit, Hitler, in his Augsburg address, stated that Germany would not raise the colonial issue for another five or six years. Why this change of front that would so please the English imperial Tories? Was it in return for that free hand, offered in the euphemistic guise of greater democratic rights for the German minority in Czechoslovakia (as suggested to the Czechs by M. Delbos after his London visit) and for the Nazi minority in Austria? The available evidence points to an affirmative answer.

In the meantime, shuffles seem imminent in the British Cabinet. Mr. Eden has been reduced to an impotent minority of one—the most tragic figure in the diplomatic world; his position is scarcely tenable for much longer. Neville Chamberlain is old and is feeling his gout; Sir Samuel Hoare and Sir John Inskip are pressing him for the leadership. The National Government is not so firmly set as its tremendous House majority would suggest.



Arizona Republic
ROME-BERLIN-TOKYO AXES



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EXPAND OR EXPLODE



DOUBLE FEATURES

Arizona Republic

FRANCE'S KU KLUX KLAN

A GROUP of old ladies, lodgers in a respectable boarding-house in the residential section of the Paris suburb, Auteuil, got the shock of their lives when police informed them that they had been living their humdrum lives on top of what was a lot worse than a volcano. Beneath their home was an underground fortress, complete with concrete walls, secret doors, machine guns, ammunition and explosives, including 15 pounds of cheddite—enough to blow up a whole part of the town, according to the director of the municipal laboratory.

Other police investigations of 450 homes and shops throughout the country brought to light 120,000 rifle and pistol cartridges, 500 machine guns, 65 sub-machine guns, tank and anti-aircraft guns, 17 sawed-off shotguns and 134 rifles, plus explosives. Most of

these were of German, Italian, and British manufacture. Most of them were found in caches constructed like pillbox forts.

By November 23 Minister of the Interior Marx Dormoy was able to expose the whole works. He revealed the existence of a complete paramilitary organization, prepared to replace the republic with a monarchistic, dictatorial regime, and planning to march on the Chamber of Deputies via the Paris sewers. The conspiracy was attributed to the "Cagoulards"—the French equivalent of the Ku Klux Klan—and Eugene Deloncle, a banker and naval engineer was arrested as the French "Kleagle." General Edouard-Arthur Duseigneur, a former official of the Air Ministry and head of the "Committee for Defense Against Communism," and Duke Joseph Pozzo di Borgo were also arrested; the latter,

once an ally of Colonel de la Rocque, indignantly accused his old Fascist leader of having double-crossed him by disclosing the plot to the police.

None of the candidates for the monarchy, however, wanted anything of the Royalist plot. The finger of suspicion had been pointed at the Duke of Paris; the Swiss Government had seen fit to throw him out of that country, and the first clues of the plot had been picked up by French police on shipments from across the Swiss border. The Duke of Guise, too, had stated two weeks earlier that he would "reconquer" his throne. But both pretenders strongly repudiated the "Cagoulard" outfit.

There is no doubt that Germany, if not Italy too, had a hand in the plot. German and Italian arms were involved; they could scarcely have been exported without the knowledge of the authorities in those countries. And M. de Kerillis, the noted journalist, who is far from being an anti-fascist, declared that there was no doubt of the "German hand" in the conspiracy. (See also *They Say*.) The plan of the dictators ostensibly was to paralyze France or stir the French left to vigorous measures, arouse the British conservatives with a "red France" scare, and weaken the Anglo-French Entente.

Who are the French members of the "Cagoulards"? On the one hand, apparently the extreme rightist hooligan elements which had been driven underground by the suppression of the armed political organizations. On the other hand, a M. de la Mense, a large textile manufacturer who is close to a set of reactionary capitalists, has been arrested. These affiliations, combined with the police search of many chateaux, point to a Big-Business—"Cagoulard" tie-up.

In the meantime, the "Cagoulards" have served to reknit the wavering ranks of the Popular Front. Radical-Socialists are still sore over the failure of Socialists to withdraw some of their candidates on the second ballot during the October election. And the Socialists, advocating a policy of action, are tired of Premier Chautemps' and Finance Minister Bonnet's prolonged "breathing spell" for business. But the "Cagoulard" scare, of which the Government has undoubtedly been aware for some time, was an opportune method of bringing the dissentients back on the bandwagon—even if most Frenchmen did not take too seriously the prospect of a set of hooded hooligans rising out of manholes to upset the republic.

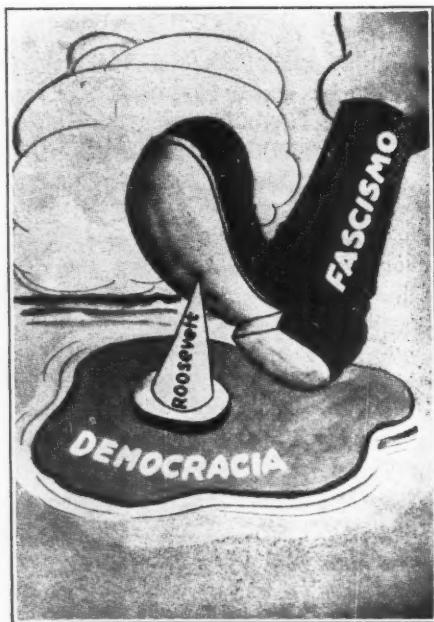
Significant Straws in the Winds that Blow from South America

LATIN-AMERICAN NOTES



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Hands across the sea—the new shadow over the Americas.



A Cuban artist thinks that Roosevelt can spike fascism.

NEW YEAR'S PROSPECTS: The new year opens in Latin America with two large question marks in the international, political and economic situation. One is: Will the Latin American governments that have fallen for the fascist fad tie up with the German-Italo-Japanese partnership? And the second: Will the drive Germany, Italy, and Japan are now making for the Latin-American market succeed in gaining further ground at the rate it has during the past year, and in displacing American and British trade and investments from their strong position in the field?

These two questions are only two sides of one issue—competition for the vast market. For, after all, what the fascist powers want in Latin America is not so much to introduce their political "ideology," as to get a larger, perhaps the largest, share of the Latin-American exportable wealth.

They are spending a great deal of money in converting to fascism newspaper editors and public officials, as well as a great deal of diplomatic effort in political intrigue. In some cases they have attained remarkable results, as the setting up of the Caproni factory for war planes in Peru. They have also made substantial gains in trade in some countries.

But measuring the length of their advance during the past year, they still have a long way to go in order to be able to upset the present status quo in Latin-American economic relations with the rest of the world. The basic machinery by which these relations are carried on remains in American and British hands. And only by waging a successful war can any combination of powers wrest it from them.

No one knows this better than Vargas, who has hastened to deny that his November coup was fascist. And Saavedra Lamas of Argentina, who declared the other day that any protection the Latin-American states might need against outside aggression "always would be based on the United States and Great Britain, and Latin America itself." As long as the great "democratic" powers hold control of the

monetary resources of the world, Latin-American rulers will swear they are "democratic."

But they will not neglect any opportunity for advantage from the desperate efforts of Germany, Italy, and Japan to find new markets, and they will continue to play up one set of competitors against the other. It is surprising how much a shrewd dictator can do with the fascist bargaining card in his dealings with a "democratic" power. In one case, the foreign minister of a South-American republic secured generous trade and financial concessions from Britain in exchange for the promise to restrict Japanese textile imports to a minimum quota.

SILK-RIBBON PACTS: Of course, the gains made by Germany, Italy and Japan in South America have come as a surprise to many people in the United States who, taking too literally the magnifying editorial comments on the results of the Buenos Aires Conference, thought that the southern continent had been safely tied up to the United States with the silk ribbons of a few treaties.

The only thing the South-American conferees gave the United States on that occasion was a promise to consult with a northern neighbor "in the event of international war outside America." And although there have been two wars and many outbreaks of international anarchy threatening the peace of the world since President Roosevelt paid his memorable call at Buenos Aires about a year ago, no one in this hemisphere has shown any recollection of the given promise.

Even the good neighbors themselves seem to have forgotten the mutual peace professions they made at a conference. The Chaco peace remains an unfinished affair, and Paraguay is still bleeding as a result of a war. Peru and Ecuador do not appear very willing to patch up differences in their boundary dispute. Dominican troops have been killing Haitian good neighbors. Nicaragua and Honduras are said to have concentrated troops along their common frontier following their "postage

stamp" war. And new South-American rivalries are being cooked up by the armament traders who are boosting the bombing planes business throughout the continent.

GERMANY SPURS WASHINGTON: Germany's trade gains in Brazil, where she had outstripped American and British exports, brought about a most significant change in the United States' commercial policy in South America during the past year. Opposing a gold strategy to Germany's barter strategy, the United States granted \$60,000,000 gold credit to Brazil to help the Amazonian republic reorganize her banking and monetary structure, and Brazil, in return, undertook measures intended to stop the expansion of German trade.

This means direct action instead of the reciprocity-treaty policy that so far has not given any appreciable results, with the exception of the agreement signed with Cuba.

Possibly we will see more of this aggressive policy in the course of the present year, for the United States was never in greater need of expanding her Latin-American trade than at the present time, when economic nationalism has closed so many markets to American goods in Europe, and Japan is trying to absorb completely Far Eastern trade.

FOREIGNERS, BEWARE: While the great powers compete for ascendancy in the immense Latin-American field, several southern republics, not very sure that to play ball with foreign capital is their best interest, are working in the opposite direction. During the year that has just expired, the policy of nationalization of resources and basic industries, and encouragement of local manufacturing has taken vigorous strides in some sections. This is the most important development in Latin-American economy since the crash, and the policy, if pressed, may furnish quite a few surprises to the foreign interests established there.

Argentina and Mexico lead the movement. Following the nationalization of her oil resources and the establishment of the Yacimientos Petroleros Fiscales, a government-controlled petroleum corporation, Argentina has been restricting more and more the activities of the foreign oil companies still operating there, including the Standard Oil. She has also opened negotiations for nationalizing a meat packing concern, and has taken over a

British-owned railway pending its purchase.

In Mexico, the Cárdenas government seeks control over the entire national economy, and government ownership and operation of primary industries. It has already begun the nationalization of the railroad system, it is carrying out a nation-wide land-division program, with elimination of foreign holdings, and it has established a national petroleum administration to compete with private companies.

Chile is planning to organize a government controlled copper industry. A few months ago Bolivia cancelled the Standard Oil's concessions, and confiscated its vast holdings. Colombia has completed plans for the nationalization of its banana industry.

INFANT INDUSTRIES GROW UP: The last few years, since the crash, and particularly 1936 and 1937, have seen in Latin America the most remarkable growth of local manufacturing. Lack of adequate foreign exchange and the deflation of Latin American products abroad stimulated the purchase of foreign machinery during depression years in order to supply the local markets with manufactured goods that could not be imported.

Textile goods, household furnishings, glassware, building materials, even steel goods are being supplied by a thriving industry. Most of the countries in South America grow cotton, and all of them have cotton mills. The most remarkable example in this respect is Brazil. With a population of 47,000,000, it was, up to a few years ago, a great market for the mills of Manchester and Saxony. Today she has a large cotton goods industry with 2,532,342 spindles and 81,158 looms, employing 130,000 workers. Brazil is not only self-supporting as to cotton clothes, but she is exporting textiles to other South American countries and Cuba.

A great variety of home-manufactured steel products, supplied by machine shops and small steel plants in Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico, is sold in those markets. Some months ago the Corral smelters near Valdivia turned out, for the first time after years of experimentation, commercial steel produced from Chilean iron materials. Brazil wants to establish a heavy industry.

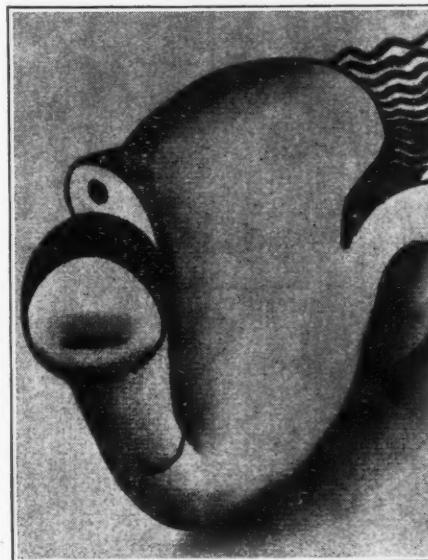
All this points to a period of less and less Latin-American dependence on the manufacturing industries of the great powers which are fighting for an increased share of that market.



St. Louis Post-Dispatch
An American view of Brazil.



El Machete, Mexico, D. F.
A Mexican view of the Vargas dictatorship.



Todo, Mexico, D. F.
A Mexican cartoonist's impression of President Cárdenas, who is getting tough with foreign interests.

Letters to

SELECTED AND ANNOTATED BY BEN WHITEHURST

THE voice of the people is distinctly heard in their messages to Washington, often addressed to the President—messages which disclose all that the people have inside them, their hopes and fears and memories of courage—and their gratitude too. The letters, which pour in every day, reveal how the socially and economically submerged, and others, react to present conditions and especially to the activities of the various agencies of their Government.

CURRENT HISTORY takes pleasure in introducing a new department, which will give its readers a representative collection of letters actually sent to the President each month. These will be selected so as to furnish a fairly accurate composite picture. The letters are unedited; misspellings and mistakes in grammar and punctuation appear as they do in the originals.

Our first letter is from a field investigator for Relief, who goes over the heads of everybody else and reports—interestingly—to no less than the President himself:

Dear Mr. President:

I have been earning a living for myself and family working as a field investigator. Yesterday I visited a large Negro co-operative unit, which was started with the assistance of the Federal government. Now, I want to take you on that visit with me.

As we enter, we notice that the place is scrupulously clean. From somewhere comes the odor of freshly baked gingerbread, boiling beans and roasting ham hocks. Somebody mentions sweet potato pie, and there is a shout of approval. In a big sewing room a half-hundred Negro mammies sway and chant spirituals, while some stop sewing long enough to clap their hands in unison with the chant. They are poor; they are badly clothed; many appear in none too good health. But they are all happy; they are unafraid; their morale is untouched.

Presently, a little, bent-with-age man, dressed very much like a vaudeville character of a 'cullud deacon,' mounts a small platform and, in a tone much too large and strong for his frail body, begins to preach. Quickly you suppress your desire to smile at his

comic appearance. The Word of God falls from his lips with an earnestness and fervor that bespeaks strong conviction. In my own individual shorthand, I am able to get most of it. Enchanted, I write, as he says:

'This know, also' says Paul, 'that in the last days perilous times shall come, for men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection, truce-breakers, false accusers, fierce despisers of them that are good, traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God; from such turn away. In the last days there shall be wars and rumors of war; floods, drought, and famine. These are the words of the Good Book. Are we not justified in asking ourselves, Are these the times of which these words are spoken?'

Plain gospel words, delivered with sincerity and spiritual feeling. There is a lot more of it, just as good.

Suddenly, there is the sound of an old-fashioned dinner bell. There is a stir of uneasiness in the congregation, and briefly the preacher says, 'Let us pray.' The prayer is somewhat shorter than the sermon portended. But then, the kitchen odors are growing stronger and stronger. Men in hard derbies, purple suspenders and red sleeve garters file into the dining hall, along with the women and children—all singing and laughing. It was just another picnic for them.

The Negro groups will bear up—mostly on account of their natural religious tendencies, their strong spiritual background and their recourse to music. Respectfully submitted,

Next, we have the letter of a young woman—now a housewife, formerly a school teacher—who eloquently voices her resentment against a feature of the relief program, in these words:

Dear President Roosevelt:

Not only my family but most all poor people are being subjected to a series of examinations, at the whim of an unseen bureaucracy. We, the guinea pigs, constituting the lower strata and middle classes of Americans,

are being forced to bare our very souls. Almost daily our homes are invaded by strangers equipped with shiny brief bags, stuffed with official blanks, cards of identity, and badges of authority. Once inside the door, and the household properly cowed, official documents are spread out, and father, mother, sons and daughters are subjected to a series of direct personal questions and a vigorous third-degree cross-examination. Mothers and wives are asked to give intimate details of physical ailments hitherto disclosed only in strict confidence to our family physician. If we resist or endeavor to evade, we are subjected to a strong dose of high-pressure salesmanship.

The inquisitorial visits are made during the day; hence it is we mothers and housewives who bear the burden of the attack. With the man of the house out looking for work, the women and children at home are being subjected to a list of questions, shot at us with machine-gun rapidity:

'What is your full name? Where were you born? Age? Your sex? Are you married? Without benefit of clergy? Separated? Divorced? What is your color? Race? Native or foreign born? How many years in school? Are you working? If not, why? If working, how much do you get? What is the total family income? What was your average earnings in 1929?—And in every year since then? Have you used up any savings? Have you borrowed any money? From whom? Received any gifts? Do you owe any money? To whom? What is your physical condition? State in detail the exact nature of your illness. Have you any mental disability?'—and so forth and so on.

Men, broke in fortune and spirit by the rigors of the terrible economic storm, are forced further into the depths of despondency by having their sorry plight thus made a matter of official record.

Only the homes of us, the poor people, are treated to these attacks. Yes, we are made to talk. That is why I, personally, do not condone this whole wretched business. Our poverty is hard enough, but this eternal inquisition is unbearable.

Sincerely yours,

the President

The next is from a fellow-citizen who ate a cat:

Dear Friend:

I was told to write you about my case and you would do something. I went to your work-relief here for some work or food. They turned me down, said I had been out of the state too long, when all the time I was working in the lower part of the state on the roads. When that work was finished I returned here and was unable to find work. So I applied for relief. They told me they would have to check on me. After four days without food, I went to the relief commission, and still got no action. Then I went home and told my wife what we were up against. My wife went around begging and got some food, but I let her have what she got that way. I got so hungry I was forced to do something. So I got my landlord's cat and chopped off its head. I buried the head and then skinned and boiled the cat and ate it. It tasted alright. Next day I got sick, not so much from the cat, I believe, as from thinking about how far I had been driven by hunger.

The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals called on me. That seemed kind of funny to me.

Please do something.

Yours truly,

But all of the letters are not critical. Please observe:

Dear President Roosevelt:

Please excuse sorry writing as I am poor man and have been sick for 5 years with Rheumatism but able to drag around. I just wanted to thank you for helping me and my family of three little children. Have been blessed by you and the good Lord. I just want to thank you for your help. Thank you and God bless you and family.

Very truly yours,

President F. D. Roosevelt,
Washington, D. C.

Dear sir:

Today my family was fortunate in receiving some of the pork given by the government, and realize that it was through your efforts that this gift was made possible. As we appreciate this

gift so much, I would like to personally thank you for same.

I am

Yours respectfully,

The new kind of poor is revealed in this significant paragraph in a letter from Iowa:

I held one position for twenty-one years, in charge of the accounting department of an insurance brokerage office. Due to the firm liquidating, I lost the position. I wandered hither and thither, seeking work, to no avail, my age going against me. We then moved to this small Iowa town, and for two years managed to live on what was left from the past. Then the real fight began. The youngsters were not decently fed and clothed. We were forced to 'go on relief' or see the children starve. That was a black day, a day that was like death in the family. However, other people have had to do it, and we lived through it.

Quaint expressions are used by many letter writers to describe pitiful conditions. Note these brief excerpts from two recent letters:

We have no shoes we soon will be out of close so I will close.

He is uncomfortable all the time, and the only time he has peace is when he is full of dope, and that is all of the time.

The President is called upon for almost all kinds of aid and service. Here are two letters from the White House mail bag:

Our President,
Franklin Roosevelt,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I'm sorry that circumstances are in such a state that I've had to ask you for aid.

My husband is working on a project and has been for some weeks. What I want to know is what has he done with his money, for his family certainly doesn't get the good from it. I'd like to know what he has done with every penny of it.

I'm praying to God that this will be answered for me, through you. This

morning I asked my husband to get up and build a fire as usual, and his temper got the best of him and he just turned over and hit me. Isn't there something that can be done? I'm patiently waiting that justice will be done.

I am

Penciled in bold, childish letters across the top of the following message, were these words: "FOR THE PRESIDENT AND NOT HIS SECRETARY OR ANY ONE ELSE."

Dear Mr. President:

My name is _____ and I just wanted to know if there was any way what I could get home. I live at _____ Street, _____, Washington. I am only 15 years old but I look about 17. I am at _____, Kansas now. I wish you would hurry the answer cause my capitale is only 37 cents. I'm one of those boys that thinks he knows it all and found out different.

Don't ask my mother to send me the Money cause she hasn't got it.

Yours truly,

And now comes the question—Who is responsible for the love life of a sow?—

Dear Pres. Roosevelt:

I am still being pestered about that last check I received from the U. S. Treasury for not raising pigs. Some of my neighbors say I am not honest not to pay the government back. Wife says if I explain to you, you will see my side. I signed up to have no litter of pigs and I done my part. Down on the edge of our hollow here I built a strong pen for the sow to keep her by her self so she would not have pigs. But in spite of all I done she rooted out and I did not know where she went to. She did not come to the house. After I received my check she came up bringing a litter with her. She had got out and gone about her own business unknown to me.

Now I do not intend to deceive Uncle Sam as you can see. Wont you please, sir, send me a paper showing I am in the clear so I can show it to everybody and stop all this whispering. As wife says can I be blamed for the secret love life of my sow?

Yours sincerely,

JAPAN'S STAKE IN EMPIRE

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

ONE of the features of Japan's wartime mentality that seems a trifle naive to the foreign observer is the frequent expression of anxious concern as to whether Japan's "real intentions" are properly understood abroad. One foreign visitor, when plied persistently with this familiar question, replied tersely: "I'm afraid they are." Another, more diplomatic and conscious of the almost complete lack of any sense of irony in the Japanese psychology, sent his interlocutor away beaming and satisfied with the following double-edged comment: "I don't think there's the slightest chance of Japan's real intentions being misunderstood now. I'm sure they are understood perfectly everywhere."

Whatever historians may finally decide about the precise allocation of responsibility for the initial clashes in North China and at Shanghai (the general impression now among neutral observers is that Japan forced the pace in North China, while the Chinese precipitated the fighting on the terrain at Shanghai, so much more favorable to them) there can be no reasonable doubt that Japan proposes to use the

present conflict as a means to establish once for all its mastery of East Asia. The most realistic statement of Japan's war aims has been Premier Prince Konoye's declaration that China must be "beaten to its knees."

Japanese repudiations of any desire for territorial acquisitions may be technically accurate, but are essentially meaningless in the face of the object lesson afforded by Manchukuo. Not a foot of Manchuria has been formally annexed to Japan; but the will of the Japanese Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army (the Japanese force in occupation of Manchukuo) is supreme; and every political, economic and diplomatic step taken by Manchukuo is carefully guided by Tokyo.

It is generally assumed here in Japan that, as a result of the present military operations, a large area of North China, the southern boundary of which may be the Yellow River, or the Yangtze, or some line between these two large water arteries, will come under Japanese political tutelage. "Peace maintenance committees," on the approved Manchurian model, have already come into existence, with the blessing of the Japanese military au-

thorities, in Peiping, Tientsin, and other occupied towns. Anti-Japanese newspapers have been suppressed and anti-Japanese books burned.

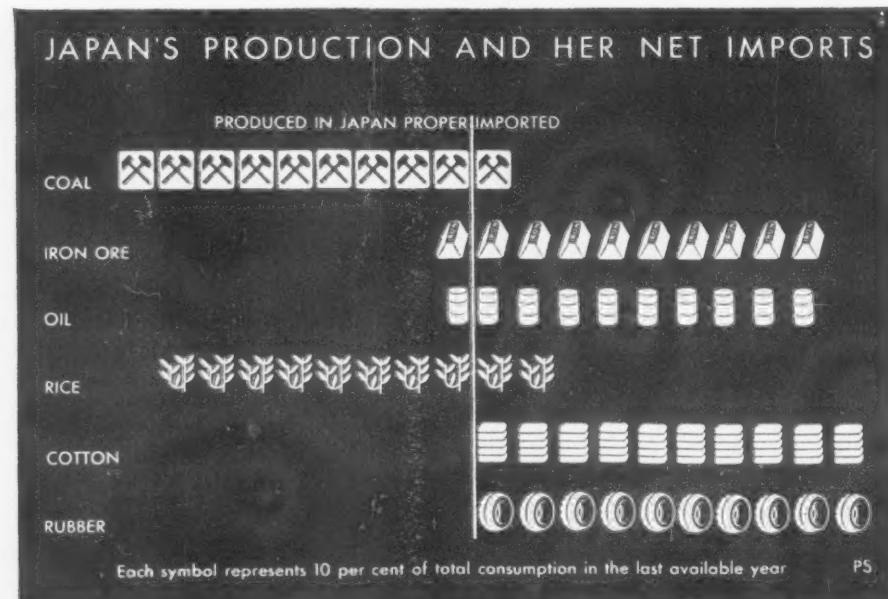
It is also believed that the military and economic devastation wrought by the Japanese army will completely paralyze any will to resist Japan in that part of China which will not come into direct dependence on Tokyo. The frequently reiterated Japanese demand that the Nanking Government should "drastically change its anti-Japanese attitude" may be construed to mean that the present regime should be replaced by one which is thoroughly subservient to Japan.

Finally, Japan looks forward to a substantial alteration in the status of Shanghai. Before the outbreak of hostilities the Japanese residents, the largest single foreign group in the International Settlement, had been pressing unsuccessfully for a change in the present balance of power in the Shanghai Municipal Council, which consists of five British, two American, five Chinese, and two Japanese members. After the war, in the event of the complete victory which is anticipated here, it is probable that Japan will endeavor to obtain a modification of the status of Shanghai, perhaps along the lines of amalgamating the present foreign and Chinese sections of the city into a free city, in the administration of which Japan will have a considerable voice.

Japan's Stakes

These are large ambitions; their realization will mean a far-reaching change in the Far Eastern balance of power. But Japan must win substantial prizes in order to justify the large stake which she has already laid on her game of empire. As main items in this stake one may list:

- (1) War appropriations which have exceeded the figure of 2,500,000,000 yen (over \$700,000,000 at current rates of exchange). This is more than the 200,000,000 yen which was expended on the Sino-Japanese War of



1894-95, and more than the cost of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, which was approximately 1,700,000,000 yen. Such appropriations, coming as a sequel to six unbalanced annual budgets, strengthen the inflationary trend in Japanese finance and foreshadow a lowered standard of living, as a result of diverting such a large part of the national spending into unproductive military channels.

(2) War exigencies have seriously crippled, for the time being at least, the expanding international trade on which Japan relied to cope with her growing population. The Chinese market, of course, is gone for the duration of hostilities. The ubiquitous Chinese traders and middlemen in the Philippines, Dutch East Indies, Siam, Straits Settlements, and other countries of southeastern Asia are striking peaceful blows for their country by boycotting Japanese goods. Moreover, many of the ships and factories which normally earn foreign exchange to help balance Japan's international payments are now carrying troops and supplies or turning out war products. And a considerable amount of trading good-will in many parts of the world will be lost by the stringent curtailment of imports which has just gone into effect with a view to conserving Japan's reserves of gold and foreign exchange. Commercial reprisals may be foreseen in some cases.

(3) Besides concrete economic sacrifices the war has imposed on Japan more indefinable political risks. Relations with Great Britain, the power with the largest economic interest in China, have inevitably become more strained and were further aggravated by the accidental wounding of the British Ambassador in China, Sir Hughe Montgomery Knatchbull-Hugessen, by a machine-gun bullet fired from a Japanese airplane. The chances of an ultimate clash with the Soviet Union have increased.

There are several reasons why these losses and risks have been discounted and taken. First of all, Japan's policy of continental expansion, which set in with the seizure of Manchuria, had to advance or to retreat. Stabilization was impossible. China was unwilling to recognize the existence of Manchukuo, much less to concede the Japanese claim for a special and preferential status for Japanese interests in North China. There had been a marked growth of national unity in China during the last years and an equally unmistakable growth of anti-Japanese



Japan and her spheres of influence are shown in solid color. Areas which have felt the military might of Nippon are indicated in shaded color.

feeling. One of the latest manifestations of these two developments was the cessation of the civil war between the Nanking Government and the Communists early in 1937, on the basis of a renunciation by the Communists of an extremist revolutionary programme, aiming at the overthrow of the Nanking Government, on the understanding that the latter would take a strong stand against Japanese encroachment. Efforts to obtain Japan's economic objectives peacefully during the tenure of office of a comparatively conciliatory Foreign Minister, Mr. Naotake Sato, during the spring of 1937 had ended in a fiasco.

In view of these circumstances, the clash at Lukowkiao seemed to the Japanese military leaders as good an occasion as any to force on China a complete capitulation in the North or, failing this, to deliver a smashing blow to China's military and economic power.

Inside Japan

Recent internal conditions in Japan may have also influenced the attitude of the Japanese military leaders. The Army during the last year had been losing popularity as a result of the growing burdens which were connected

with its long-term plans of armament expansion. Higher prices and higher taxes had led to a marked increase in the number of strikes and to a good deal of grumbling, some of which found expression at the sessions of the Diet early in the year. The veteran deputy Yukio Ozaki, one of Japan's few consistent liberals and anti-militarists, delivered more than one strongly worded criticism of the Army's interference with foreign and internal politics before the Diet. The moderate socialist Social Mass Party had doubled its representation at the last Diet election in April, 1937.

Now in Japan, even more than in most countries, the transformation from peace to actual, if undeclared, war can be counted on to effect a magical change in popular psychology. Public criticism of the Army vanished overnight. War credits were voted unanimously by the Diet. The Social Mass Party unreservedly endorsed the Government's policy in China. The armed forces became the first object of popular admiration. While there is no basis for suggesting that the war was provoked for the purpose of diverting attention from internal discontent, it has unmistakably up to the present time had that effect. Given a reason-

ably quick and not too dearly bought victory, the Army leaders may well hope that the glamour of triumph on the battlefield will reconcile the masses to additional burdens and that the very necessities of the war will pave the way for the permanent introduction of the system of military state socialism in which young Army radicals see the solution for Japan's economic difficulties. The requirements of war-time economy have already led to the adoption of two measures which greatly extend the sphere of state control over trade and industry. The Government has assumed dictatorial powers over foreign trade, completely forbidding some imports, limiting others, and also closely regulating exports. Another law makes it necessary for any new company with a capitalization of more than 100,000 yen to obtain an official permit before it can begin operations. Existing companies must obtain similar permits for any enlargement of capitalization. The purpose of this legislation is to direct all investment into channels conducive to the prosecution of the war.

Prospects for Success

What are the prospects that Japan's imperialistic venture will succeed? Three months of actual fighting have discredited extravagant expectations on both sides of the front.

In appraising the course of the war one must appraise not only the results of the first campaigns, but the reserve forces at the disposal of the two countries. So far as Japan is concerned there would seem to be nothing that would obstruct the steady flow of troops and supplies into China. There is absolutely no articulate opposition to the war. In munitions, although not in raw materials, Japan is self-sufficient; and this is also essentially true as regards food. Japan's domestic production of foodstuffs is valued at over two and a half billion yen annually. Imported foodstuffs in 1936 amounted to 189,000,000 yen, while food exports were estimated at 80,500,000 yen. If one considers that the food imports consisted largely of luxuries, or at least comforts, mainly consumed by foreigners or well-to-do Japanese, it would seem that the Japanese masses, provided that a reasonably equitable distribution of purchasing power is maintained, can be fed at their accustomed standard of living without any drain on the country's stock of gold.

Financially, to be sure, Japan is poorly provided for a long war. The country's gold reserve, never large, has

been substantially depleted by large shipments of the yellow metal abroad during the first half of the year. These were made with a view to counteracting the effect of an unusually heavy unfavorable balance of trade and maintaining the yen at the value which it has retained for several years of one shilling twopence.

Japan now has approximately 400,000,000 dollars in gold. The greater part of this sum is earmarked as a reserve for note issue; and Japan's leaders would not wish to see the stock of gold on hand fall much below the 400,000,000 dollar figure because of the necessity for being prepared for some

there has been no indication that the war with the technically inferior Chinese troops will lead to any such catastrophe.

China's Critical Position

China, because of its military inferiority, is in some respects in a more critical position than Japan. The financial outlook is precarious, with most of the customs revenue, the largest and most reliable source of state income, cut off, as a result of military operations which have reduced China's foreign trade to a fraction of its former value.

Still more serious is the outlook as regards replacements of munitions, oil and other military supplies. Some supplies are apparently still reaching China through Hong Kong. But fierce Japanese bombing attacks on the Canton-Hankow Railway, the only means of conveying supplies to the fronts in North and Central China seem to make any regular organization of supplies impossible.

How much help China is receiving or will receive from the Soviet Union is a matter of pure speculation. The Soviet Union is one of the most secretive of countries both in foreign and in internal policy. Any supplies it might send to China would be over remote desert caravan routes without foreign witnesses. The swift Japanese thrust along the Peiping-Suiyuan Railway, which carried the Japanese troops into the mountain passes of Northern Shensi, was partly designed to cut off the Soviet Union from China. The most direct route from Ulan Bator, capital of Soviet-controlled Outer Mongolia, to China, through Kalgan, is already cut off. Any shipments from Russia would therefore have to proceed by round-about desert routes, exposed to the danger of Japanese air bombing.

So far Chinese national unity has stood up well under the test of war. There have been no open cases of disaffection on the part of provincial warlords, although the Japanese have been maneuvering for the neutrality of the governor of Shantung, Han Fu-chu, whose province lies directly athwart the Japanese line of advance to the south. In contrast to other Chinese ports, Tsingtao, the main outlet of Shantung Province, has been neither blockaded nor bombed. Apparently the Japanese up to the present time have hoped to avoid serious fighting in Shantung, with probable incidental destruction of much of the large Japanese property interests there and to persuade Han Fu-chu to accept the new Japanese order in North China. Whether these hopes



Glasgow Record

THE MIKADO

*My object all sublime
Has changed in course of time;
The punishment now precedes the crime;
It now precedes the crime!—Revised
version.*

possible more serious conflict than the war with China. However, it is doubtful whether Japan will feel a serious financial pinch for several months, because the seasonal trend of international trade begins to be favorable to Japan in the autumn and optimists here hope that 200,000,000 yen will be saved as a result of ruthless curtailment of "unnecessary" imports, from moving-picture films to razor-blades and from American toothpaste and cosmetics to foreign artists.

While a gradual sinking of living standards, especially for the more well-to-do classes, is in prospect, there is no present indication of any such sharp deprivations as would cause widespread popular discontent with the war. The fanatical nationalism which assumes many features of religion in Japan and is closely bound up with the cult of Emperor-worship offers another assurance that war morale will not break down, except under the impact of some stunning catastrophe, which could not be concealed or glossed over. As yet

were fulfilled will no doubt be known when this article is published.

Weighing dispassionately the relative military, naval, and economic strength of the two countries, there seems little doubt that China, barring foreign intervention or military aid on an unexpectedly large scale from abroad, is almost certain to break down first in open field operations with large bodies of troops because of the manifold disadvantages which have been outlined above. The course of hostilities indicates that Japan by the end of the year, if not sooner, will most probably succeed in driving the regular Chinese Central Government armies out of the five provinces, Hopei, Chahar, Suiyuan, Shantung and Shansi, which are usually regarded as constituting North China.

Military Success Is Not Enough

Japan's problems, however, will not end with this military success. It will still be necessary to pacify and administer an area of almost 400,000 square miles, inhabited by some 75,000,000 people. Manchukuo, much smaller in area and with less than half the population of North China, still requires a Japanese army of occupation, the strength of which had been gradually rising, even before the recent hostilities began, and was generally estimated at about 100,000 men. The extra expenses lumped under the heading "Manchurian Incident" have represented a constant annual drain averaging over 200,000,000 yen in the Japanese budget.

Hope is sometimes expressed here that North China will not require such thorough-going occupation as Manchuria. The basis for this expectation seems rather slender. There seems to be as much reason to expect political banditism in North China as in Manchukuo, where it is still far from extinguished; it will most probably be kept alive by agents and raids from those parts of China which remain subdued.

The economic resources of North China are being depicted in alluring colors to the Japanese public. The province of Shansi does contain the richest single deposit of coal in China, with reserves estimated at about 127,000,000,000 tons. The only substantial iron deposits, in the Lungyen region of Chahar Province, northeast of Peiping, are reckoned at only 90,000,000 tons. So there is little prospect for the development of a permanent large-scale heavy industry, based on a combina-

tion of coal and iron. Sections of Hopei and Shantung are well adapted to cotton cultivation; and Japan hopes to reduce its dependence on America and British India by promoting more extensive cotton plantations. Industrial salts are also to be found in North China. On the other hand, the region reveals no signs of oil or gold and is, of course, too cold for the development of rubber and the various tropical products which Japan needs. Much of it is a barren waste of desert and arid land, supporting a thin population of

manded strong action, even at the cost of heavy immediate sacrifices. And, once hostilities had begun on a large scale, once it was evident that China would not capitulate after merely face-saving gestures of resistance, the logic of the situation, to the Japanese military mind, called for as complete a smashing of China's newly formed military machine as possible.

The ultimate issue of Japan's stake in empire is still uncertain. But Far Eastern equilibrium has been upset beyond hope of restoration. There can be



Sovfoto

RED RAIDERS: How much help China is receiving from the Soviet is not definitely known. Modernized Russian war equipment, such as special tanks which can tow large numbers of ski-soldiers, could play an effective part in transporting men or materials to the war front.

Mongols with their flocks and herds. The settled portions are far too crowded to offer any prospect for Japanese immigration and agricultural settlement.

It is also a question whether Japan, saddled with heavy war expenditures and with the additional costs of developing Manchukuo, will find the capital for profitable exploitation of such natural wealth as North China does possess. Already there is some slowing down of the pace of new construction in Manchukuo because of the primary need of capital for war purposes. How much will be available for peaceful reconstruction is problematical.

Saving Those Faces

But Japan's forward thrust on the Asiatic continent cannot be either justified or explained on purely economic grounds. The question of prestige plays an important part. Confronted with evidence of increasing firmness, unity, and hostility on the part of a China that was pushing forward its development along modern economic lines, Japan felt that its ultimate political and economic interests in East Asia de-

no restoration of the status quo either in North China or in Shanghai. In an extreme case it is conceivable that the war, in sporadic guerrilla form, may drag on for years, with large sections of western and northwestern China gravitating toward the Soviet orbit as a result of arms shipments, and Japanese puppet regimes established in those regions which are more accessible to the Japanese arms. China may thus be forced into the role of a second Spain.

However distasteful the prospect may be to outsiders who wish to go about their normal business, there seems every likelihood that President Roosevelt's phrase, "an awful mess," will characterise the Sino-Japanese situation for a long time to come. For years the shadow of a major war between Japan and China has been hanging over the Far East. The outbreak of such a conflict was so often threatened and so often averted, because each side seemed to shrink from its full implications, that optimists had begun to believe it would never occur. Now it is here; and present indications are that, as between China and Japan, it will prove much easier to start war than to conclude peace.

POST-MORTEM ON AN "INCIDENT"

IT IS amazing that Japan succeeded in persuading the whole world that she was drawn into the battle of Shanghai unprepared and against her will and that the hostilities were the outcome of the shooting affray at Hungjao airport. Let us review the events of this memorable week of August 9th and see if it is so.

On August 9 a Japanese squadron composed of the cruiser *Yaeyama*, the destroyers *Kuri* and *Tsuga*, and the gunboats *Atami*, *Tutami*, *Hozu*, *Hira*, *Kataka*, *Seta*, and *Toba* dropped anchor at Shanghai. These warships completed the evacuation of Japanese concessions in Gantze river ports and were to proceed to Japan after taking aboard civilian residents wishing to leave Shanghai. The famous incident occurred when these warships were already in the harbor. Two members of the Japanese landing party (this term is applied to the permanent Japanese garrison at Shanghai), Sub-Lieutenant Isao Ohyama and Seaman Tozo Saito, trying to force their way to the Hungjao airdrome, shot the Chinese guard at the gate and were in turn killed by the Peace Preservation Corps men at 5:20 p.m. on Monday, August 9. Japanese authorities were immediately notified and the joint investigation committee composed of Chinese and Japanese reached the scene of the shooting at 1 a.m. on Tuesday, August 10. The Japanese strategy was to reject each and every statement made by the Chinese and to stick to their own theory, regardless of the evidence. The lengthy investigation lasted until 7 p.m. and did not reach any conclusion. The Japanese claimed at first that their men were not armed (despite the fact that they were in uniforms!), but when the Chinese authorities produced the Japanese service revolver of .32 calibre, found near the body of a killed officer, they changed their statement, explained that the men were on duty inspecting Japanese-owned factories two miles away. How they could be on duty and in uniform and yet be disarmed was not explained. The Japanese insisted that the guard was killed by rifle shots of the Chinese; this was refuted by the autopsy performed by Judicial Medical Laboratory, which established that death was caused by .32 calibre revolver bullets. These are merely details illustrating the Japanese attitude during the investigation.

An analysis of Japan's excuse for the invasion of Shanghai

By

ANDREW TOLSTOY

The most important point is that Hungjao airport is located far beyond the so-called extension roads (under nominal jurisdiction of the International Settlement), and admission thereto is in the entire discretion of Chinese authorities. At a time when open warfare in the North was in progress and the tension between Chinese and Japanese was near a breaking point, necessitating the unprecedented evacuation of Japanese inland concessions, the appearance of Japanese naval men in uniforms at the gate of an airdrome could not possibly have had other results than what took place. Of this the Japanese were fully aware, and if it were not a deliberate provocation, it must have been inexcusable foolhardiness on their part.

Warships Arrive

On Wednesday, August 11, the warships that arrived on the previous Monday did not leave for Japan; and instead of being evacuated, Japanese civilians were mobilized into a semi-military organization and armed. In the early afternoon of August 11, while the negotiations were still pending, ten Japanese warships came into port bearing 3,000 marines, large quantities of ammunition, food and supplies. This squadron, composed of the cruisers *Kinu*, *Natori*, *Sendai*, and *Ture* and six destroyers, arrived from Sasebo, 502 miles away. If we allow only twelve hours for necessary preparations and 16 hours sailing at maximum speed (460 miles in open sea at 33 knots and 42 miles up-stream in the river at 20 knots) it will mean that these ships were ordered to Shanghai not later than 10 a.m. on August 10—while the investigation commission was still only gathering evidence. This short time is barely enough to establish an alibi, but not a very convincing one!

Simultaneously with the arrival of these warships, augmenting the Japanese forces to 25 warships and 5,000 marines, the Japanese consul general, S. Okamoto, acting on instructions from

Tokyo, demanded the withdrawal of the Peace Preservation Corps from the vicinity of Shanghai and the demolition of Chinese defense works. The demand for the withdrawal of the Chinese gendarmerie from Chinese soil was obviously illogical, unwarranted, and unacceptable to the Chinese. By nightfall, six more Japanese warships appeared in the harbor: the destroyers *Asago*, *Ariake*, *Fuyo*, *Hasu*, and *Kurukaya* and the transport *Shiretoko*. Early in the morning of August 12 the Japanese, besides erecting sand-bag barricades, started to clear a site for an airport in Gantzepoo. That the armed Japanese and Chinese, facing each other across the barricades, were bound to clash and ignite the whole Shanghai front was beyond any doubt. It was within the power of the Japanese to avert this clash by speeding up the evacuation. When four Japanese seamen were killed in Tsingtoo and when landing of troops there for some reason did not suit their plans, they evacuated all civilians, shut down their factories, closed the consulate, and withdrew their marines and warships without a single shot. They fully realized that the preparations for "self-defense" would infuriate and provoke the Chinese. The fighting broke out on August 13.

A Revealing Flaw

However, even the most "perfect crimes" have usually a flaw, and a little detail which escaped notice may become very significant and revealing. On August 12 the funeral of Sub-Lieutenant I. Ohyama and Seaman T. Saito took place in Shanghai. These men, it was announced, received posthumously the ranks of Lieutenant and Warrant Officer respectively. Why did these two men, who at the very best committed a foolhardy and reckless act, disturbing the peace, suddenly become heroes rewarded with special honors? The answer is obvious: they rendered a distinguished service to their country. If we are to believe that the Hungjao incident alone was responsible for the outbreak of hostilities in Shanghai and that it was not a part of a well-conceived plan of campaign against China, then we must also believe that the Japanese attack on Shanghai on January 29, 1932, which occurred during the warfare in the North and preceded the invasion of Jehol, was also a coincidence.

WISE MAN'S BURDEN

By JOSEPH JASTROW

WHOMAINTAINS CIVILIZATION? Who keeps the elaborate, sophisticated, motley, questionable, yet vital progressive and redeemable affair going, so far as footings the bills? What proportions are contributors to and what dependents upon the budget of upkeep? What still larger numbers of the toiling population do no more than subsist on their earnings, neither supporting others nor themselves supported? Specifically, of what sorts and conditions is the burden portion of humanity, maintained by the contributions of their fellow-men?

Nature makes both the competent and incompetent, with a bias favoring a low-brow standard. Competence derives from chromosomes; that basic fact sets the limit to educational and legislative measures and likewise shapes their problems. A grossly wrong chromosomal choice for leadership may wreck a nation—has done so, is doing so. Civilization was created by the best minds and maintained by proficient ones. Under the title, *The Skyline of Humanity* (*Esquire*, January, 1937), I projected a graph of the distribution of proficiency. That inquiry emphasized the momentous differences of ability among the competent; that “the mere upkeep of our present complicated culture must depend upon a very trifling percentage of the population.” (James Harvey Robinson) A saving remnant maintains civilization; the rest, competently though they do their bit, are but worthy camp-followers.

The present survey concerns *deficiency*, the drag on cultural and economic welfare constituted by the unfit, the incapacitated, the indigent, the socially hostile or inadequate. A preview reveals a situation obvious and ominous. The burden of support of the incompetent and incapacitated falls upon the better endowed and circumstanced minority, and will ever do so.

"There Are Those Who Sink, Those Who Float, and Those Who Swim . . . Every Swimmer Supports Some Fraction of a Submergee . . . "

The proficient must carry the deficient. The great masses can do no more than shift for themselves—at least not until a new deal gives way to a newer deal.

We all begin, and most of us end as dependents. Education is set toward preparation for such competence as lies within the power of each to attain for the mature span of life. The inequalities of mankind that have gone far to shape the course of history are both inherent and adventitious; some must be, and others should not be. In the process of inquiring what fraction of an unsolicited dependent each contributor to the budget has wished upon him by the present dispensation, we may learn much that is interesting, if depressing, concerning our disqualified fellow-humans.

Competence is an acceptable general term for the ability to hold one's own in adjustment to the environment, with all its fair and unfair competition. There are specific aspects of competency: economic, intellectual, social and, conditioning them all, biological competence, which is nature's primary concern. Nature counted upon a fierce struggle for existence to weed out the weak. Primitive people followed the same principle. Under the humanitarian code, many are born unfit to cope with the exactions of competitive civilized life, but are maintained by a sentiment that finds its justification elsewhere. Constitutionally unable to make the grade, the weak become a burden upon the strong. Re-

moved from the active scene, seamy institutionalized humanity is not usually in evidence. If every metropolis segregated its dismal City of Deficiency, as does in part the social geography of New York harbor—presenting for the contemplation of the wage-earners of Manhattan a panorama of incompetents assembled on a chain of lesser islands—the burden-bearers would be more cognizant of their burden. Detention-camps of ostracized fellow-citizens are duplicated a thousand-fold throughout the length and breadth of the land.

The Personnel of Incompetence

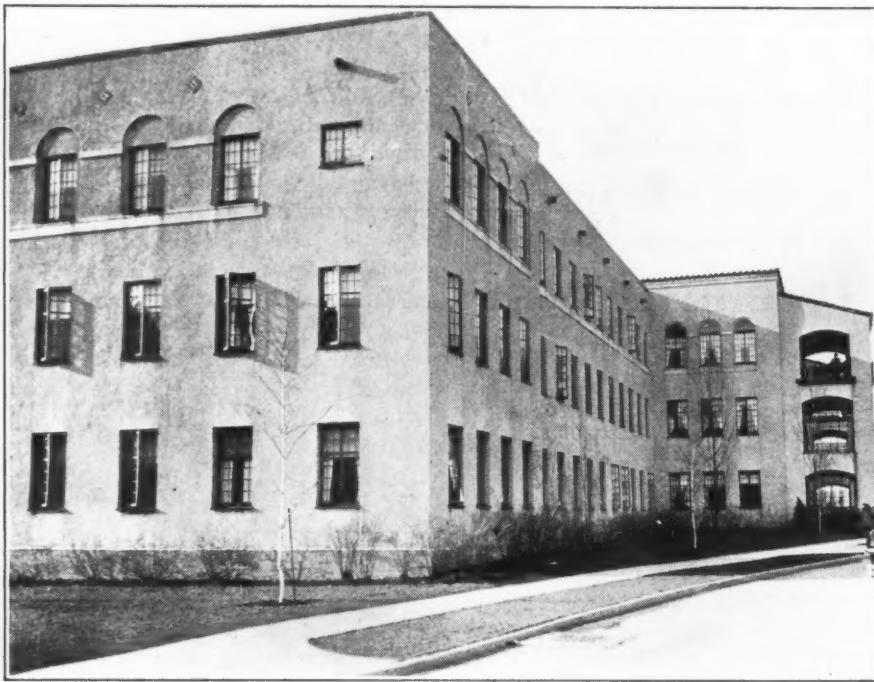
In economic water, there are those who sink, those who float, and those who swim. As the submerged are not allowed to drown, every swimmer supports some fraction of a submergee; the floater population far exceeds the other groups.

The significant inquiry focuses upon the personnel of the debtor class. The submerged—tabulated as economic deficits—are the mental defectives by chromosomes or circumstances, the victims of neurotic disability, bowled over by the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, the physically handicapped, the criminals (who require separate consideration); and in numbers towering far above all the other liabilities combined—the unfortunate poor, still to be described in Voltaire's terms, as suffering from nothing more serious than poverty.

Incompetent on all counts are those who lack the neuro-psychic equipment for the citizen's life—the *mentally deficient*. The introduction thirty years ago of the concept of “mental age” in developing children—expressed also as an Intelligence Quotient (I. Q.), with 100 as standard—provided a rough means of grading mental defect. The idiot of the older classification proved to have a mental age of 2 to 4 years, and an I. Q. of 20 or

less; the imbecile, a mental age of 4 to 7 years and an I. Q. of 20 to 50. On this basis, about 4 in every 1000 were classed as mentally deficient. These form a permanent charge upon the social order, whether cared for in institutions or in communities. The hope of the race lies in the gradual elimination of the hopelessly deficient. With the introduction by Dr. Goddard (1911) of the indispensable word

morons with neglected training, a burden and a threat to the community, and morons trained to perform simple routine tasks and become partly self-supporting. In terms of frequency, for one idiot there are two imbeciles, and four morons. If the lower moronic grade be included, at least 1 per cent of the population is mentally defective, in the clinical-social sense that they cannot "manage their affairs with or-



International

SANCTUARY: This asylum at Orangeburg, New York, is but one of many supported by the State. Approximately 70,000 mental defectives are cared for in New York's hospitals and institutions. In the entire country, the insane population equals in number the students attending the nation's 175 colleges with an attendance of 1000 or more.

"moron" for the high-grade mental defective, the proper perspective of the problem appeared. Morons have a mental age of 8 to 12 years, an I. Q. of 50 to 70. Above that are the *subnormal* dullards found in all schools, grading up to 90, where 100 is the norm. Intelligence-tests enter into a diagnosis, but do not complete it. A very low I. Q. has a significance in itself, but a greater one as an index of the social criterion of incapacity to "manage their own affairs or of competing on equal terms with their fellows"—and of requiring special supervision.

The Moronic Population

One must be circumspect in considering alike the social menace and the economic burden of the moron in our midst. By decree of nature, the moronic population is large. There are low-grade and high-grade morons, "good" morons and "bad" morons;

dinary prudence," and are likely to get into all sorts of trouble in a none too scrupulous world. Most of them would perish unless guided and supported by others.

How many we list as morons depends upon how low-grade a mentality we adopt for the upper limit, where the border zone of dull normals begins. The inadequacy of the moron is gauged by the environment; unfit for one job, he may pass for another. As Binet, father of tests, said of some of his "inferiors," they were feeble-minded in Paris, but normal in their village homes. If every child in the schools who rated I. Q. 70 or below were called a moron, there would be throngs of protesting parents. An I. Q. of below 70 is suspect; when social and behavior deficits are also present, the diagnosis of moron is warranted.

I cite from a letter from Dr. Doll that "one may make the general statement that at least 1 per cent of the

total population is mentally deficient within conservative definitions and standards. . . . This estimate of 1 per cent is the same as that found in the U. S. Army for men rejected for military duty because of mental deficiency. It is also confirmed by the very careful survey by the Wood Committee (England)." Dr. Doll continues: "The low-grade feeble-minded are completely dependent. In the case of the high-grade, well-adjusted feeble-minded, a comparatively small amount of supervision and welfare aid is sufficient to enable them to get along. While, under these conditions, the feeble-minded still are never really desirable members of society, they at least are not an active menace to society, *except as they reproduce their kind.*" I add the italics; many would print the reservation in black-face type, so dire is this peril. What makes it worse is that dullards on the border-zone of moronity, who far outnumber the morons, carry the same menace. Hence the dismal warning of Professor Hooton in *Apes, Men and Morons*: "Society faces the immediate prospect of domination by quick-breeding dullards, led by cunning psychopaths."

We shall ever face the problem of making low-grade mentality safe for democracy. Morons there are, and morons must live. The crux of the question is whether society shall decree that morons shall not pass on their defect. Some thirty States have enacted sterilization laws, which, if properly enforced, will at least check the survival of the unfittest. The indiscriminate importation of low-grade population is an equal menace. The slums as a convergence of low-grade heredity and environment contribute heavily to moronity, crime, and dependency.

The Mentally Disordered

A stupendous bill, which able-minded citizens pay, is for the care of the incapacitated by mental disorder, popularly called the insane. Statistics of insanity in the several States cannot be accepted at their face value; a low rate presumably indicates inadequate provision. A fairer picture is presented by selecting a State such as New York, in which reliable statistics are available, through the efforts of Dr. Horatio M. Pollock. According to him: "Mental Disease creates by far the greatest institutional problem with which the State or nation must deal. . . . In New York State on June 30, 1936, there were 68,218 resi-

dent patients under treatment in Mental Hospitals."

If New York may be accepted as a 10 per cent sample of the United States, the total "insane" population in public institutions, including for good measure the private mental hospitals which shelter 2½ per cent, would number about 700,000 souls—in the most sadly deteriorated cases bodies from which the soul has departed. Only 400,000 are reported as in institutions. How many more are cared for at home is unknown. The insane equal in number the student population of the 175 universities and colleges of the land with an attendance of 1000 or more. These figures offer text and sermon in one.

The oft-cited statement is true but misleading that the beds provided for "mental" cases far exceed the total for all other illnesses combined. Though it does not affect the bill for mental disorder, it must be noted that the average hospital sojourn of mental patients is from two to five years, while that of "general" patients is from two to five weeks. The "beds" in mental hospitals are long occupied by the same patients, while those in general hospitals are constantly shifting their occupants. It would be fairer to count occupants than beds.

To obtain the total picture of incapacity through mental disorder, we must remember that mild and transitory psychoses are commonly treated at home under the general heading of "nervous breakdown"—a term which properly refers to the functional psycho-neuroses, which usually run their course of defeat and recovery leaving scars. In the aggregate, they cause incapacity, loss of earning power, and profound and exhausting misery, greater even than the true psychoses. They are specifically the maladies of civilization; civilization both makes the ills and pays the bills. All in all, by far the greatest "natural" liability is loss of sanity. Ninety per cent of those who at one age or another, through one cause and another, become victims of mental disorder were, until so afflicted, normal; yet 60 per cent are described as of temperamentally abnormal make-up. Dr. Pollock has calculated an "expectation" of insanity. It appears that one person in 22 in New York State, and one in 18 for New York City, may be expected to develop mental disorder at some time in life—though not for life. This is the *average* expectation, as unequally distributed as the expectation of life,

which varies from family to family, class to class, race to race. The most desirable citizenry is one with a high sanity, a low expectation rate of insanity. The fear has been generally expressed that we are drifting into, even encouraging a high "expectation" and an increasing one. (See Fig. I.)

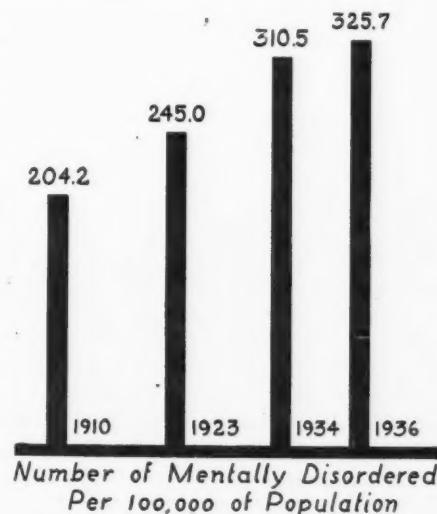


FIG. I. *It has been predicted that should the present rate of increase in all forms of mental disorder continue there will be just about enough sane people left to take care of the insane.*

How far mental disorder is increasing is difficult to say, in that the data from one period to another are not wholly comparable. The picture of incidence of mental disorder shows a steady ascent. How far the increase represents improved methods of diagnosis and registry, is a matter of estimate. Psychiatric opinion—though not unanimous—sees many evidences of increase all along the line, and most decidedly in the functional neuroses, which do not appear in this picture. The marked improvement in psychiatric care, together with the phenomenal growth of the worthy movement for Mental Hygiene, is operating both to reduce the numbers of mental victims and to their prompter treatment and rehabilitation. There is a wise man's hope as well as burden.

The Burden of Crime

The story of sin and the decalogue has grown into a vast literature of criminology and shelf-miles of legal statutes. Only recently has the sociological and psychological significance of crime and the criminal emerged from the avalanche of legal dialectics. There is no unity to the varieties of law infraction. The psychopathic enters into the criminal picture, although the notion of the criminal as a distinct human

type—*l'uomo delinquente* of Lombroso—is long discredited. The modern view recognizes feeble-mindedness as one port of entry to the criminal career, and the psychopathic personality as another. All manners of abnormality prevail among low-grade criminals.

The relation between deficiency and crime is reflected in a selection of data. Of 8,000 delinquent children appearing in a juvenile court of New York City, only 20 per cent had normal or better I. Q.'s (Armstrong); and the proportion was similar among children brought to court because of improper guardianship. In another group in correctional institutions, 13 per cent were feeble-minded and only 18 per cent normal or better. (Slawson). Of 8,300 adult prisoners in nine prisons of New York State, 19 per cent were normal or better, 27 per cent had I. Q.'s below 70 (Branham). A low-grade mentality combined with poor environment forms a culture-bed for crime.

Crime is definitely a youth problem; 50 per cent of the Sing Sing inmates are under 25 and 80 per cent under 30 years of age. It is definitely a masculine enterprise (15 to one) and reflects the national go-getting traits. "We Americans," says Dean Roscoe Pound, "have more crime per capita than the British for the same reason that we have more automobiles, more telephones, more ton-miles of freight moving, more horse-power of electric energy per capita." Likewise there is greater respect for the law, and prompter and more rigid enforcement in Great Britain. Their crime quota is declining; ours is increasing; theirs moderate and ours huge. All of which confirms the dominant sociological factor in the prevalence of crime. Crime is a burden which a wise administration of human affairs can notably decrease.

Among the older and repeated offenders the "psychopathic" element is greater. "It is the higher grade of defective who constitutes the most serious problem in anti-social behavior" (Glueck). Of a group of 510 prisoners, only 33 per cent had I. Q.'s of 90 or over (compared to 79 per cent of school children); 46.4 per cent had I. Q.'s of 70 to 90 (school children, 19.5 per cent); 20.6 per cent with I. Q.'s 50 to 70 (school children 1.5 per cent); and only 27.3 per cent could be pronounced free of mental disqualifications. Psychic instability plays a marked role in the social maladjustment that favors crime. "An intellectual defect is a misfortune, an emo-

tional defect a calamity, a defect in both realms a catastrophe" (Judge Olson).

It is important to consider the social environment; that 70 per cent of juvenile offenders come from the very poor districts. Consequently the mental status of criminals must be compared with that of their social class. The poor end of the scale, which includes 50 per cent of the prisoners, includes 40 per cent of the recruits for the United States Army (Doll). The statistics of crime are limited to the apprehended and sentenced; the abler and more normal are more successful in evasion. The "intelligent" orders of crime (embezzlement, forgery) show completely normal mentality.

Such are the deficients whose support runs up huge bills for the proficient to meet. The bills may now be presented.

Presenting the Bills

In the cost-accounting of the deficiency, incapacity, and delinquency of mankind, the bill appears in three items: *maintenance*, *investment* in buildings, equipment and costs of administration, and what may be called the *implicational charge*. The bill reads:

To the responsible, competent, moneyed citizenry of the United States, Dr.

ANNUAL BILL FOR MENTAL DISORDER

Item I: Maintenance of 700,000 cases of mental disorder at \$400*	\$280,000,000
Item II: Estimated investment and overhead	180,000,000
Total	\$460,000,000

Item III: Implications charge	\$10,000,000,000
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For the judicious estimate of the "implicational charge," we are indebted to Dr. Pollock. He has computed the economic loss in earnings of the mentally afflicted in New York State for 1937 to be \$1,000,000,000 dollars; as New York represents 10 per cent of the nation, \$10,000,000,000 is the amount for the United States.

*The data for the Massachusetts institutions are accepted as standard, the per capita weekly cost being \$7.59 (1936). About 60 per cent of total cost is for maintenance. The paying patients reduce this so far as the tax payer is concerned by 7 per cent. Estimates are given in round numbers, and data for the better providing States are extended to the United States.

In appraising the economic loss, he considers the chief mental disorders, the average age of onset; of incidence, of duration, of incapacity, of recoverability. The loss is nearly 100 per cent in senile cases, 70 to 80 per cent in the most serious psychoses, with 50 or 40 per cent loss in the more recoverable ones. The net future earnings of a citizen whose maximum earning power is \$2,500 annually, has been

\$10,000, and would be far more but for their brief longevity. On that basis is entered the above implicational charge, which is nothing more than an intelligent guess. If the burden which feeble-mindedness places upon the community through producing other feeble-minded is added, the implicational charge would be multiplied many fold.

In regard to crime, obviously and importantly, the *prison bill is not the*



Times Wide World

WHAT PRICE GLORY? These eight Philadelphia youths, all of them in their 'teens (each of the two boys seated at the lower left is 14), operated as a robbery gang but were caught by detectives, pictured at extreme right and left. Some were cocky and boastful, some enjoyed the spotlight, others were curious, even puzzled. Crime is definitely a youth problem; 50 per cent of the Sing Sing inmates are under 25.

calculated by Dr. Dublin for Life Insurance purposes; the earning of a woman is assumed to be half that of a man.

The same taxpayers will foot a further

ANNUAL BILL FOR MENTAL DEFICIENCY

Item I: Maintenance of 125,000 feeble-minded at about \$365.	\$45,000,000
Item II: Investment and overhead	30,000,000
Total	\$75,000,000

Item III: Implications charge	\$1,250,000,000
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As the earning power of the mentally deficient is low and all but the most helpless contribute something to their own support, no very large sum for earning loss can be included in the implicational charge. Only about one tenth of the feeble-minded live in institutions; hence the relatively low item in the bill. One authority has estimated that the cost of rearing every markedly feeble-minded child is

crime bill, nor any large portion thereof. In comparable form, there would be the

ANNUAL BILL FOR INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF PRISONERS

Item I: Maintenance of 200,000 prisoners, at \$400 annually*	\$80,000,000
Item II: Investment and overhead	55,000,000
Total	\$135,000,000

For the implicational cost of crime, the sky or any other horizon is the limit. To begin with, it is an underestimate that for one criminal apprehended there is another at large; so that at least 400,000 are engaged in crime. There is one person sentenced to each 443 of the population fifteen years old and over. Mr. Courtney Ryley Cooper writes of *Ten Thousand Public Enemies*, which 10,000 are a sample of some 3,000,000 who have been convicted of crime—by far the

*New York penal and correctional Institutions (1936), record 22,396 prisoners, at an annual cost of \$400. As New York has presumably a larger than average prison population, the number is multiplied by 9 instead of 10, which is its population ratio.

greater portion, of the crime of dishonesty or some form of "loot" crime. If this proportion obtains, there must be several crooks to every carload of subway passengers.

The dramatic statistics of crime—that there is a murder in the land every 45 minutes, and a crime committed every 20 seconds, that crime reaches into one of every 16 homes—are effective in keeping the importance of crime before the public. They cannot well be brought into the perspective of the cost of crime. When Mr. J. Edgar Hoover estimates that the cost of crime is \$120 for every man, woman and child, and that the money saved by two years without crime would wipe out the national debt, he is including the cost of the protection of lives and property, and the cost of prevention of even more crime than we have, and of administering its machinery. The implicational charge he makes to be \$16,000,000,000 a year. It is only in Utopia that there would be no bill for maintaining ordinary law and order.

The Burden Exceeds the Bill

Such is the deficiency bill presented to the proficient taxpayers, but only part of it*—the lesser part. The distribution of human ability is a decree of nature; but it becomes a social responsibility when the eugenic counsel,

rate among the fitter classes, and a high one among the less fit. So long as progeny, far from following proficiency, is in inverse ratio to it, the bill will grow; and the weak will inhabit so much of the earth as remains.

parity of circumstance is that for poverty, which in recent years has focused national attention upon relief measures and social security. If the best that society can do is to maintain the bulk of the population close to the



Times Wide World

HUNGER ON THE MARCH: This is one of the thousands of breadlines which were linked across the continent during the pit of the depression. The bill for poverty is the greatest of all.

Hence the alarm which brought into being the corrective eugenic movement.

It applies most specifically to mental deficiency, psychopathic personality, epilepsy, and the psychoses in which the heredity factor dominates. But nature does not create—at least not unaided and unabated—the stresses, maladjustments, trials, defeats, that

margin of decent subsistence; if slums are an inevitable excrescence on the face of civilization; if only a minority can live in fair comfort and security, with a few in extraordinary luxury, the system—call it by what name you will—registers a lamentable failure, despite its magnificent triumphs. Only when the same wisdom that has been expended upon the control and utiliza-

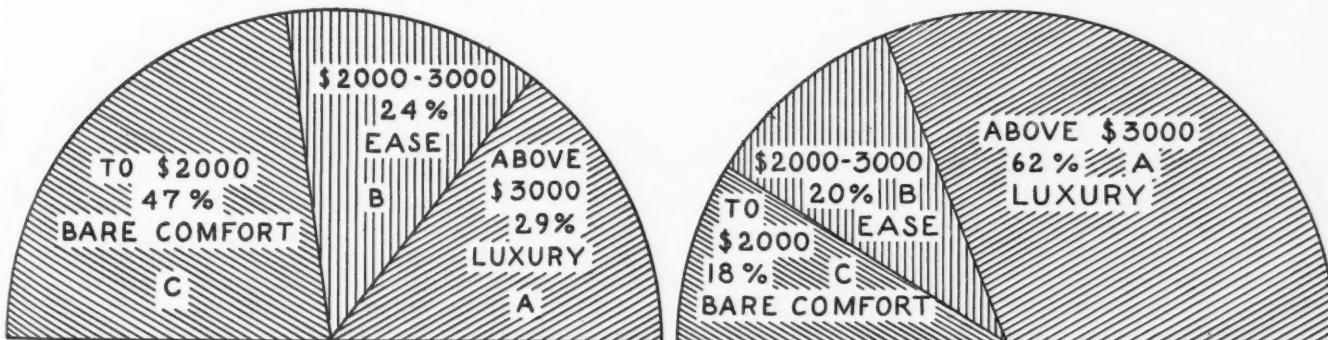


FIG. II. Of 4,000,000 federal income tax-payers, approximately ten per cent pay a considerable share of the deficiency and dependency bill. Classes A plus B plus C constitute one-tenth of the entire population. The C class, in proportion to what it pays, supports only 18 dependents; the B class supports 20 dependents; while the wealthy A class supports as many as 62 dependents.

"breed from the best," becomes a political policy. The excess above the "normal" deficiency bill, some would argue, is the penalty for a low birth-

increase the bill for mental disorder to its appalling dimensions. That is chargeable to unwise designs for living promoted and imposed by the social order by its manifold unfitness; these assail the brain, the master-organs of life, and convert a normal into a neurotic being.

Yet the bill of bills for human dis-

tribution of physical resources is applied to control of human behavior will the wise man's function come within reach of realization.

Who Pays?

Accompanying charts (Fig. II) show that the largest proportionate amount paid for the support of dependents

*The cost of handicap has not been included in the interests of simplification. There were in 1930, 63,000 blind and 57,000 deaf, the majority at least partly, some wholly self-supporting. Under the compensation acts, \$240,000,000 was paid annually to 20,000,000 workers. To this must be added the cost of care of foster children, and (in some part) for the aged.

comes out of the pocketbooks of those in the upper income brackets.

It is open to any to protest that in a properly organized society these classes and their respective incomes would be very differently distributed, while a communistic or socialistic regime would abolish them altogether. What is wrong in this picture? is a challeng-

bill, if one could know what that is in so sharply fluctuating times, here indicated by the shaded sector; and the emergency relief, for which several groups of data are available, and is here indicated by the sector up to the broken line. It is ominously large, about one sixth of the population, and represents broken hopes, broken homes,

such the burden which an imperfect solution imposes.*

In Conclusion

The wise man's burden is to provide reasonable protection against the folly inherent in the untrained mind, and specifically to further the accent on sanity in all endeavors. Without the wise man's vision, the people will perish. Neither we nor our wisdom can live by bread alone, by the pursuit of immediate and material succor; it is still truer that we cannot live without it. In comparison with the reduction of poverty, all remedial measures seem Lilliputian. The pressing problem of troubled times cries for a redeemer in the person of a great economist; but human welfare is equally the psychologist's concern, his thought coerced to a realistic temper. Poverty is a menace to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness — in lowlier and higher phases alike. Poverty is a headache and a heartbreak; some measure of economic freedom is the precondition to the employment of the mental, emotional, and spiritual powers that make life worth living.

Competence and proficiency may be interpreted on any level of aim and ability. Not in the spirit of avoiding his burden do the competent and proficient deplore the rising tide of deficiency and dependency. Nor does responsible wealth regret the expenditure that balances the budget of inequality; for there is no better employment of money than to give it away to those who need it. Nor would the humane man shirk the burden of being his brother's keeper. But it is the goal of every worthy design for living to arrange life wisely, nor let sentiment too much impede reason. The wise man's burden involves the obligation to reduce deficiency, dependency, and poverty in the interests of a wholesome dispensation, in which the proficient shall both inherit and cultivate the earth to the benefit of the commonweal.

*In so conjectural an estimate, it seems better to let the diagram speak to the eye, and not attempt to present all the several facts upon which it is based. I have checked each item that goes into the estimate by a variety of considerations. The diagram cannot be completely correct; it is presumably not grossly wrong. It is obvious that there will always be a normal amount of dependency in addition to children and the aged; it is the superload above that that gives concern.

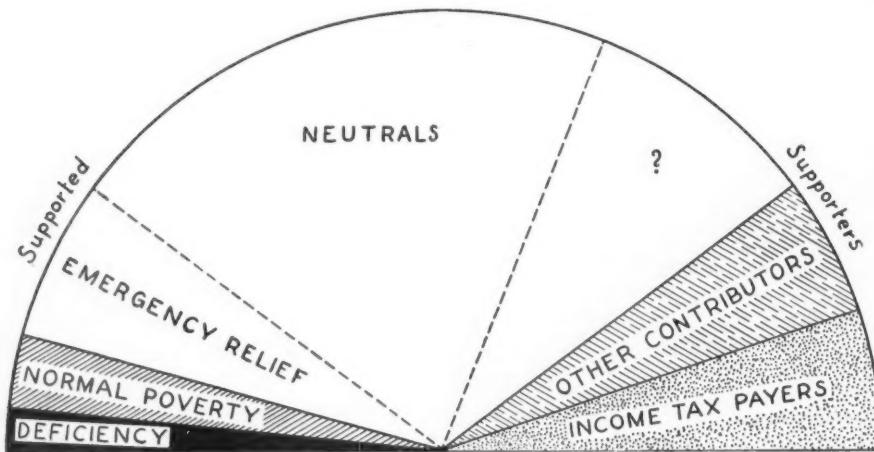


FIG. III. An impressionistic diagram of the relative proportions of supported, neutral, and supporting groups.

ing inquiry. It may also be interpreted as a strong hint that soaking the rich runs the serious danger of drenching the poor. Without political implications, they present the ledger reality.

We proceed to the more problematic diagram (Fig. III.). With allowance for doubtful boundaries, let us divide the population into I, the income class who in the nature of things pay most of the bill; into N the neutral class who neither contribute to making the bill nor to paying it (or pay so little as to fall better into this class than in any other); and D the dependent, for whose support the bill is incurred.

The attempt to reach a statement as to what fraction of a dependent each group of contributors carries as its burden is beset with uncertainties. The best one can do is to indicate the limits, themselves conjectural, on each side and accept whatever point between seems most consistent with such data as are available. On the side of the Supported, there is the deficiency bill as presented, here indicated by the black sector; the normal (?) poverty

and unemployed looking for rehabilitation.

Accepting the figures at their worst, it means that one fifth of the population must be supported, and asks what proportion of the four-fifths can support them. Certainly the income tax-payers, who amount to only half a fifth; in addition, one may assume, another half-fifth who contribute by way of other and indirect taxes. How far beyond that the Neutral zone begins is doubtful, and is so indicated. With these liberal allowances, the Neutrals form about 45 per cent of the population; of the remaining 55 per cent, perhaps 35 per cent support 20 per cent or 40 per cent support 15 per cent. A mean between these guesses would suggest that a supporter supports half a supportee, in the emergency condition under which we are living. Under a return to a wishful "normalcy," that ratio may be reducible to every six contributors supporting one dependent. Whether the social order can do better than this is the issue to which the present survey makes what contribution it can. Such is the problem facing the wise man;

CAESAR OF THE CARIBBEAN

A sadist with many medals, Trujillo would be insignificant if he weren't murderous

By CARLETON BEALS

TOWARD the middle of October, I received a letter from an American in Santo Domingo in which he recited the details of the terrible Dajabón massacre, in which the Dominican army and police, incited by drunkenness, set upon peaceful Haitians, men, women and children, and murdered some five thousand of them in the most brutal ways. My correspondent claimed to have seen truck after truck, dripping with blood and filled with mangled bodies, pass by in the direction of the shark-infested seas. Other bodies were cremated with gasoline, great pyres that smouldered on for days, with an unsupportable stench. According to the writer, these crimes were not confined to the frontier areas but were committed simultaneously, during the first week of October, throughout the Dominican Republic.

If any news of these atrocities leaked through the tight Dominican censorship into the American press, I failed to see it. In view of the magnitude of the crime, it seemed incredible that our Caribbean news coverage could be so inadequate. I decided that some minor border incident not uncommon between the Dominican Republic and Haiti, had overheated the imagination of the writer.

Some days later, I saw items in the Spanish-language press of New York that large numbers of Haitians had been murdered by the Dominican peasantry. This could mean only one thing: official complicity; for so thorough is the dictatorship of General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, that no Dominican lifts a finger except by official consent and no Dominicans except the members of the army and police have weapons. Soon other reports leaked through from different parts of Santo Domingo, relating similar occurrences. Apparently there had been a veritable St. Bartholomew night of Haitians residing in Santo Domingo.

Then, on November 10, the *New York Herald Tribune* carried a front page column story with a column carry-over, telling of the gruesome details of the slaughter that had occurred over a month before. These details,

the tossing of babies on bayonets, the clubbing to death of women, the jabbing of men with three-pronged daggers provided to the Dominican army and police, have been corroborated by hundreds of Haitians who miraculously

ignorance, ferocious cruelty, greed and vice, but desperately cunning. Our minor Rudyard Kiplings, following on the heels of our marines, eulogized the boys in blue and the square-jawed Anglo-Saxon soldier of fortune, who defied malaria, wild beasts, and dum-dum bullets with high-minded baby talk and nonchalant courage. Our heroes invariably brought discipline to sprawling, lazy native recruits and instructed their enemies in the ways of generosity and civilization. By bravery, swift action, good luck, and nobility, the blond hero overcame the devious wiles of his opponent, saved the endangered honey-and-cream daughter of the sugar-plantation, and won beauty, love, and wealth.



Caricature from *Selecta*, Havana

LOVER OF MEDALS: Like most tyrants, Rafael Trujillo goes in for lavish decorations and medals. He trusts no man. Visitors can see him only when he is escorted by his machine-gun bodyguard squad.

escaped and fled across the border into their own country.

This frightful occurrence is not entirely a surprise to those who have followed politics in Santo Domingo since Trujillo seized power nearly eight years ago. His administration has been one long record of brutality and assassination, one of the most frightful tyrannies in the history of the Americas or of the world. Official sadism, however, has heretofore been largely confined to abuse of Dominican citizens.

The sentimental adventure fiction of tropical America, which flourished during our "Big Stick" days from the close of the Spanish American War down until 1917, had a simple formula. The villain was some little swarthy dictator under a big hat, with bristling moustache, a glittering sword, many titles, medal-inflated chest—a man of vast

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A Richard Harding Davis Villain

But fact is sometimes quite as strange as fiction. If anyone seems cut to the pattern of the Richard Harding Davis villains, it is General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, the present tyrant of the so-called Republic of Santo Domingo. He is a throw-back to our best fiction traditions. Really he should be called "*Generalísimo*," for that is the bombastic title his puppet Congress long ago gratefully bestowed upon him. In addition, he is officially "Benefactor of the Fatherland," "Doctor of the University," "Admiral" of a discarded little steamboat of pre-war vintage, mounted with a clumsy deck-howitzer and several machine-guns; and he has been planning to have himself called "Life-President."

The title of Doctor Honoris Causa in the Economic and Political Sciences, from the oldest university in the New World, was presented to him a week after a deal with the university which netted him a handsome profit. The Dictator had bought the farm of Senator Jaime Mota, Jr., on Kilometer 8 of the Mella Boulevard for \$10,000 and had just resold it to the State for \$100,000. Minister of Agriculture Cesar Tolentino then uttered a colossal panegyric of Trujillo's great public spirit in relinquishing such a valuable

THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The Dominican Republic shares with the Republic of Haiti the island of Haiti which lies between Cuba on the west and Porto Rico on the east. However, the Dominicans occupy more than two-thirds the limited island area.

President of the Dominican Republic is one General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, 44 years of age. In his honor, the city of Santo Domingo has been renamed *Ciudad Trujillo* (Trujillo City).

The 1935 census reports a Dominican population of 1,500,000 racially mixed persons of European, African, Indian and even Syrian blood. Speaking an official Spanish tongue many of these people are devout Catholics. Haiti has a population of 2,500,000.

From 1916 to 1924 the Dominican Republic, as well as Haiti, was occupied by the United States Marines. Today, the Republic possesses a bicameral legislature, although the political leaders hold elections infrequently.

Approximately the size of Vermont and New Hampshire the Dominican Republic produces sugar and coffee, and nurses a valuable mineral deposit.

property to further the Republic's educational progress.

Even Trujillo's nine-year-old son by a favorite mistress has been, since he was a baby, a colonel in the army drawing a colonel's pay. Several years ago, Congress renamed Columbus Plaza in the capital, where the remains of the discoverer of America are supposed to rest, "Ramfis," after the little colonel's nickname, and at the same time titled the boy, "Illustrious Child."

"Remember, fellow-members," reads the Congressional resolution, "the virile complacence with which the great Philip of Macedonia received the consecrated laurel of Alexander on the plains of Charonea," and how "the heart of the father, the illustrious male to whose patriotism, talent, and character the destinies of our Republic have been entrusted, will be greatly moved by the homage rendered his son."

Trujillo has caused an entirely new province and the main city of the country to be named after himself. A goodly share of the bridges and other public works, though he has constructed few of them, now bear his name. All government employees and private citizens were coerced to build a statue of him and a private mansion for him. Like most tyrants, he has acquired more medals at home and from foreign governments than anyone who has ever done anything decent for humanity can ever acquire.

The spangled ruler of this little tropical country is a man in whom fear and vanity struggle for the upper hand. When he receives visitors, four gunmen train sub-machine-guns on them, and on leaving visitors are required to walk backward out of his presence. He trusts no man. Those

most intimate with him, men high in the government, have suddenly found themselves in jail or their families find them under the sod.

Several years ago the body of a dead Dominican girl was shipped back to her country from the United States for burial in the family mausoleum. The rumor that revolutionary plans were concealed in the body had anticipated the shipment. At the customs, the corpse was hacked to pieces in a vain effort to discover them. Thus Trujillo's ridiculous love of glory, his bombast, and his fear of revolt have many lugubrious sides.

But there are also many amusing notes. Everyone who wishes to remain alive is converted into a waist-bending adulator, and the high-flown flattery that results, if it may wound the sensibility of native Dominicans gravely concerned over the sad fate of their country, produces mirth in the outsider. It is doubtful if any man who has ever lived has been so touted as the living superior of every great figure in the history of mankind. Among those who for obvious reasons have had the unpleasant task of showing Trujillo unusual public honors has been ex-President Archbishop Nouell, once put in office through American pressure. In the last presidential election in which Trujillo was the sole candidate, the campaign buttons bore the phrase "God and Trujillo." Since those elections, the newspapers, in a fashion which would arouse the envy of the ex-Kaiser, always speak of "Trujillo and God." To read the Dominican press day by day is an education in the forced abasement of human beings. The only way that any newspapers have succeeded in remaining alive is

by putting across the front page of every issue a big black banner headline with fulsome praise of the dictator.

Terror in Dominica

Long before the recent massacre of Haitians occurred, the political enemies of Trujillo—and thousands of Dominicans are in exile all over the world—declared that the dictator's victims totaled several thousand dead, among them some of the finest men of Dominican literary and professional life. Thousands of political prisoners have crowded the jails for years. Not even Ulises Heuraux, who ruled the country so ruthlessly, until assassinated in 1899, ever dared commit the extreme depredations that Trujillo has, nor was he ever so execrated by the Dominican people. The long list—and just a moderate percentage of the names would occupy as much space as this entire article—of those assassinated in the Dominican Republic, includes writers and editors who failed to sing Trujillo's praises; officials of past administrations who held quietly aloof from his government and even some who participated in it loyally; plantation owners who objected to the soldiery stealing their cattle or who resisted arbitrary confiscation of their estates; too impetuous students and professors; men of every profession and walk of life.

A notorious secret strong-arm gang, known as "La 42"—after the Forty-second company of American marines which left such bitter memories in Santo Domingo—deals out beatings, kidnaps the supposed enemies of the regime, or murders any suspects. The murder of the poet Virgilio Martínez Reyna and his wife is a dark crime that aroused dismay in Spain and all Latin America. Virgilio Martínez, long known as a patriot and an outstanding writer, was sick with tuberculosis contracted when jailed years before by American marines; yet he and his wife were brutally shot down. Several years ago six hundred peasants—Dominicans not Haitians—were slaughtered in the Moca and Puerto Plata provinces for resisting the stealing of their lands by large sugar corporations. It is claimed that more than a thousand prisoners have been murdered, after horrible tortures, that many of them were burned alive in the black-hole Nigua prison.

Cuba, under Grau San Martín, was obliged to break off relations with Santo Domingo because of the maltreatment of its citizens. Among those killed by Trujillo's henchmen were two

Puerto Ricans. Only after scandalous publicity were the relatives of these two American citizens able to get belated though largely ineffective State Department assistance. Not so long ago fifty prominent Dominican women, behind a veil of cringing flattery to the Dictator, signed a petition for the release of relatives and friends, a petition that quivered with the sobs of those anguished souls. But though the petition carried such mawkish phrases as "clairvoyant statesman," "valiant and brave ruler," "extraordinary man," the prisoners were not released, and some of the signers, despite their sex, have since been murdered.

Trujillo's Climb

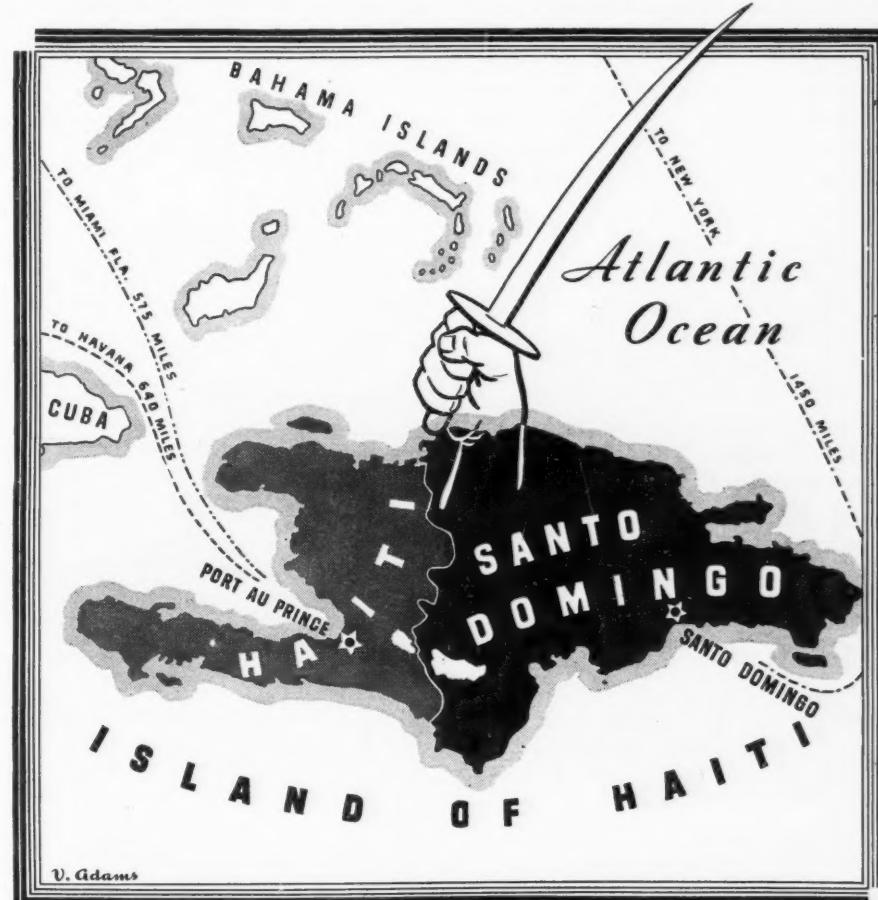
Trujillo, among other things, is a product of gangsterism, banditry, militarism, and our own marine occupation. Originally he and his brothers formed part of a notorious gang known as the Pandilla de Pepito, Trujillo's nickname being "*Chapita*," still applied to him by his exiled opponents. He and his brothers, who now hold lucrative public offices, ran foul of the law on various occasions. According to two different biographers, Gotay and Sánchez, in 1911 Trujillo stole government funds from the San Cristóbal post office and had to hide out in exile in Saint Thomas until the revolution against President Cáceres made it possible for him to return. Shortly after, he and his brother Aníbal were arrested for cattle-rustling. In 1918 he forged the name of his employer to a check and was condemned to serve a sentence of six months.

On his release he joined the National Guard, which had been established by our occupational forces, as a secret-service agent. He grafted protection money from gambling dens and houses of prostitution. Though for reasons which cannot be set down in print he had become personally serviceable to a leading American officer, who tried to protect him, he had to be let out of the service.

For a time he was a company guard for the San Andrés Sugar Central, then re-entered the National Guard as an ordinary recruit. He was ruthless and ready and ascended in rank. He became notorious for his brutalities, robberies, and assaults on women. Several times his superiors brought him to trial for theft or rape, but the same high American officer continued to befriend him. After an engagement at Fermín, he was demoted—after public trial—for cowardice.

Following the withdrawal of the American marines, Trujillo remained as an officer in the National Guard and, through treachery to his immediate superiors, rose rapidly. One superior was killed by an irate husband after Trujillo had tipped the latter off as to what was going on. Another superior was shoved aside through the falsification of documents purporting to implicate him in a revolutionary plot. Trujillo elbowed his way into the commandancy

Baez, had to flee from the island when they refused to conceal the true facts from the commission and tried to support its efforts. Among other things discovered was that army laundry was being handled in the establishment owned by a mistress of Trujillo, naturally at an exorbitant rate. The army rolls contained many straw men who received full pay but never shouldered a rifle. Of the \$16 paid to the soldiers each month, it was estimated that from



of the entire National Guard. He then renamed it the "National Army," recreating the sort of militarism that the American occupation had attempted to abolish.

The 1929 investigations of the Dawes commission, of which the present Under-Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, was a member, were carried on in an effort to put the country's financial conditions in order and to lay the basis for a new American loan. An attempt was made to force an army clean-up because of the exaggerated military expenditures due to increasing costs and rampant graft under Trujillo's administration. Though the direct charges do not appear in the commission's final report, the great economy urged was precisely the reduction of military expenditures. Various officers, among them Captain

\$8 to \$10 found its way into Trujillo's ample pockets. Soldiers who protested were sent to the guard-house or simply "disappeared."

Attempts to clean up the army brought friction. Unwittingly the Dawes commission, by the very honesty of its efforts, dug a grave for the Vásquez government then in office. In February 1930, Trujillo and the army revolted. Rafael Estrella Ureña was put in as a puppet provisional president until a typical bayonet-election could be held to seat Trujillo in the chair. Estrella Ureña then took the place of Vice-President. In this election Trujillo actually received more votes than there were registered voters. A Supreme Court judge who declared the elections fraudulent had machine-guns focused on him and fled from the country. Presently the dutiful Estrella Ureña, trying

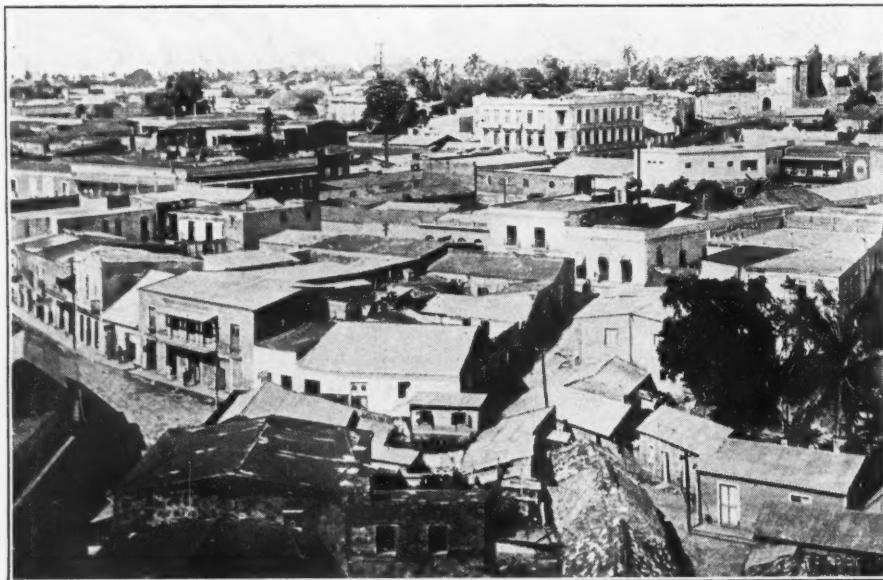
somewhat to curb the dictator's sanguinary tendencies, had to flee from the island to save his life.

Army Rule

Trujillo, thus seated by bayonets, by the army, which was merely the National Guard ironically enough created and made efficient by us, continued and still continues to crush the slightest nod of opposition. The graft and monopolies, previously a feature of army circles, were thereafter made nation-wide. Trujillo continues to use his high office for personal enrichment. He or his near relatives have monopolies over nearly all food supplies and most other necessities. No one but Trujillo can sell cattle in the slaughter

ment on principal was not to begin until 1930. But in that year Trujillo seized power and in that year he defaulted, declaring a two-year moratorium. This was concurred in by the Hoover Administration, and in 1933 it was extended for another six months. More recently, an arrangement was made with the bondholders which cut annual payments down to an illusory sum and prolonged American customs control for forty years.

There were sound reasons for the original moratorium. World depression had shattered Dominican sugar, coffee, and tobacco industries. The terrible September hurricane of 1930 had brought desolation to much of the island.



Times Wide World

SHANTY TOWN: Santo Domingo, which Mr. Trujillo prefers to call Ciudad Trujillo, is hardly a city to excite the envy of a municipal art commission.

houses; he dominates the tobacco-leaf trade; he has a silk monopoly. So high has the cost of living become that for years now ordinary staples are bootlegged. Recently a suit for slander was brought against a large foreign bank trying to collect debts which involved Trujillo. Scandalous stories circulate regarding the seizures of large inheritances. Representatives of American business firms, in competition with Trujillo's enterprises, have been thrust into jail charged with political conspiracy and denied trial.

The final financial reorganization effected by the time of our marine withdrawal in 1924 left the island with a \$20,000,000 external debt of 5½ per cent sinking-fund gold bonds, maturing in 1940 and 1942 at 101 plus interest. The President of the United States was empowered to appoint a customs collector to guarantee payment. Repay-

The recent official slaughter of Haitians has its causes in two new developments. The first is the proximity of new elections. Rumors of plots, dissatisfaction, and possible revolt against Trujillo, in spite of his iron-clad rule, have grown more numerous. Trujillo is attempting to allay domestic dissension by cooking up a foreign difficulty. This was the tactic followed by the savage dictator of Peru, Sánchez Cerro, some years ago, when he precipitated the Leticia imbroglio with Colombia. It is the tactic used by Benavides of that same country, who keeps a dispute with Ecuador conveniently simmering. It is the tactic of the European dictators, who in order to maintain their grip on the people constantly rattle the sword against their neighbors. There is little doubt now but that Trujillo intends more or less to follow the example of President Getulio Vargas in

Brazil and declare himself perpetual dictator along fascist lines. The massacre of Haitians not only diverted public attention to the possibility of war with Haiti but reminded the Dominicans that the Trujillo regime would drown the slightest opposition in blood.

Trujillo Flirts with Hitler

Another factor connected with the recent massacres has been Trujillo's active relations with Germany. Like the other southern dictators, however much they may pretend friendship with the United States and to subscribe to Roosevelt's democratic notions as set forth in the Buenos Aires conference, they find all ideas of democracy a dangerous heresy menacing their control. If they smile at the United States, they carry on secret negotiations with the Germans and Italians, and in many cases also the Japanese. Trujillo's relations with Germany have grown constantly stronger; and there is no doubt but that the Hitler regime has been casting eyes upon Santo Domingo as a possible friendly base near the Panama Canal in case of international struggle. Trujillo has completed arrangements for a preliminary land settlement of forty thousand Germans along the Haitian frontier. Many of the Haitians recently killed were squatters on lands which Trujillo planned to turn over to the German settlers.

Unfortunately the actions of Trujillo represent another blow at Roosevelt's efforts in the Western Hemisphere on behalf of democracy, neutrality and peace. He represents a further extension of the Nazi *putsch* throughout the world. The Berlin-Rome axis, which with the inclusion of Japan became a triangle, now becomes a many-pronged spear; and the prongs jab ever nearer to our shores.

Haiti, which diplomatically has confirmed the story of the massacres of its citizens, does not want war. Though President Stenio Vincent is something of a dictator himself, he has not spent large sums on armament, and the national defenses consist largely of a mobile constabulary, without the technical equipment for aggressive war or even adequate defence. In a long conflict, of course, the Haitians, being so much more numerous than the Dominicans, would sooner or later overrun and seize the entire island. For the present Haiti is likely to accept any satisfaction for the murder of its citizens which will save face, but undoubtedly Trujillo has sowed the seeds of future war on the island, and possibly the demise of the Dominican Republic.

COOPERATION IN CARTOON

Anglo-American co-operation against Japan ends just where it started—as seen by the world's cartoonists



1 1920—"Lafayette we have quit" . . .



4 . . . So Uncle Sam changes horses.



2 . . . But in 1937 Uncle Sam finds isolation embarrassing . . .



3 . . . And the British lion gets coy . . .



5 . . . "Go on, young England," says Franklin. "I'm behind you." "But look who's in front of me," replies Neville . . .



6 . . . Uncle Sam himself is not enthusiastic about the badge of leadership England offers him . . .



W.P.A.

By CORRINGTON GILL

EVER since the beginning of the Federal Works Program for the relief of the destitute unemployed of the nation, a great deal of discussion has gone on as to the merits of such a program. Is a work program preferable to a dole? Is the recipient of work relief, or any kind of relief, better or worse off for it in the long run? Are W.P.A. projects economically executed? What about boondoggling? What about politics and relief? Are W.P.A. workers loafers?

These and similar questions have been discussed in the halls of Congress and State legislatures, from the rostrum of the lecture platform, from church pulpits, in the press, and in the home. They have been debated long and ardently, generally shedding much more heat than light, their value impaired and often nullified by lack of basic information about the program. How can the philosophy of a program be discussed without a thorough knowledge of that program? How can the merits or shortcomings of a program be debated without the primary facts and data on which valid arguments have to be based?

Perhaps the fault for this lack of information lies partially with the Works Progress Administration. Because we have been so busy getting the program on its way, we have not taken sufficient time adequately to explain it; because we have been so harassed by what we felt to be unfair partisan attacks on the program, we have concerned ourselves altogether too much with answering our critics and defending those phases of our program which have been attacked. We realize now that we should not have permitted ourselves to be dragged into the byways of discussion. On the other hand information about the program is and has always been available. Some individuals and organizations have used this material; but most people will not take the trouble to go through reports and statistics—they would rather argue in vague generalities.

Who are the people receiving W.P.A. work relief? How many are there in the United States? How old are they?

Why are these people on relief? Who determines whether a man or woman is eligible for work relief? What kind of projects do they work on? What wages do they receive? What percentage of the total amount spent by the W.P.A. is used for administrative expenses? How many laborers work on the program? How many white-collar and professional workers are employed? How many women? How is the money which Congress appropriates for work relief apportioned among the States? How is it spent? What does the Government get as a result of these expenditures?

These and other elemental questions need answering before discussions of the value of the program can be intelligent. The answers are not so simple as the questions: to answer them completely would require a good sized volume. But the trimmings can be cut and the essential basic information presented. That is the purpose of this article. I will not get into any arguments. I will not discuss the pros and cons of any controversial question pertaining to the subject of work relief. I will try to limit myself to an exposition of the vital facts of the W.P.A. program.

Some Vital Facts

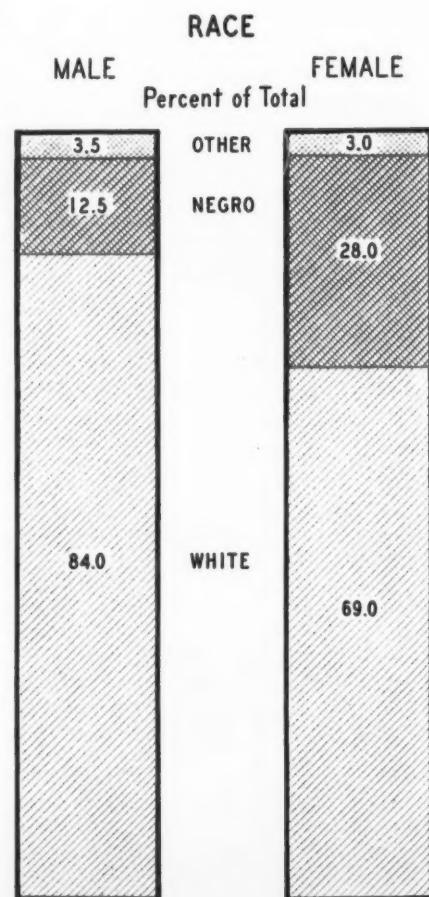
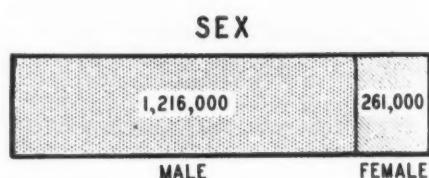
Today there are approximately one and a half million workers employed on W.P.A. projects. If we take four as an average family, there are then some six million men, women and children dependent on the W.P.A. payrolls. These do not represent all the people in want: they are a part of the group of destitute families with an *employable* wage earner, able and willing to perform a useful and productive job; they represent the number for whom the W.P.A. can provide work during this fiscal year with its share of the billion and a half dollars appropriated by Congress for the relief program.

The destitute *unemployables*, the physically and mentally handicapped, those too young and those too old to work, are taken care of by local relief agencies, or, in some instances, by the Social Security program. In a few

States there is practically no public relief program whatsoever. The W.P.A. program is a work program for unemployed workers in need, but the W.P.A. is not an organization for dispensing relief. The connection between them is that the workers are in need and would be on relief if there were no W.P.A. program.

Of the remaining millions of unemployed, but employable, people not reached by the W.P.A., or the public welfare program, some are managing on their own financial resources, some eke out a living by part-time work, some receive relief from State and local relief agencies, some receive charity from private organizations, some depend on relatives, and some are merely existing as best they can. In this article we are concerning ourselves

SEX AND RACE OF WPA WORKERS



only with the workers on the W.P.A. rolls.

This group is not static. Workers are constantly leaving the W.P.A. rolls for work in private industry and their places are taken by others in dire need and out of work. However, the present day complexion of the W.P.A. workers—their age, sex, color and skills—can be shown, based on surveys, taken from time to time, of the W.P.A. rolls.

Of the 1,477,000 people employed on W.P.A. projects throughout the United States in September, 1,216,000 or 82 per cent were males and 261,000 or 18 per cent were females. Studies have shown that of the males, 84 per cent were white; 12.5 per cent were Negroes and 3½ per cent were of other races. Of the females, 69 per cent were white; 28 per cent were Negroes and 3 per cent were of other color extraction.

A breakdown of the ages of W.P.A. workers showed that 14* per cent were under 25; 24 per cent between 25 and 34; 25 per cent between 35 and 44; 22 per cent between 45 and 54; 12 per cent between 55 and 64; and 3 per cent 65 or over. The average age for all W.P.A. workers was approximately 40 years.

A few words of explanation are necessary in connection with these figures. The average age of W.P.A. workers is but slightly higher than the average age in private industry. The reason for the difference is that W.P.A. does not compete with private industry for labor: W.P.A. takes its workers after private employers have selected all the people needed to run private industry and business. In selecting replacement labor or additional labor, private industry has its choice of the unemployed labor and usually selects younger workers. Another reason for the somewhat higher W.P.A. age average is that W.P.A. employment is limited almost entirely to heads of families.

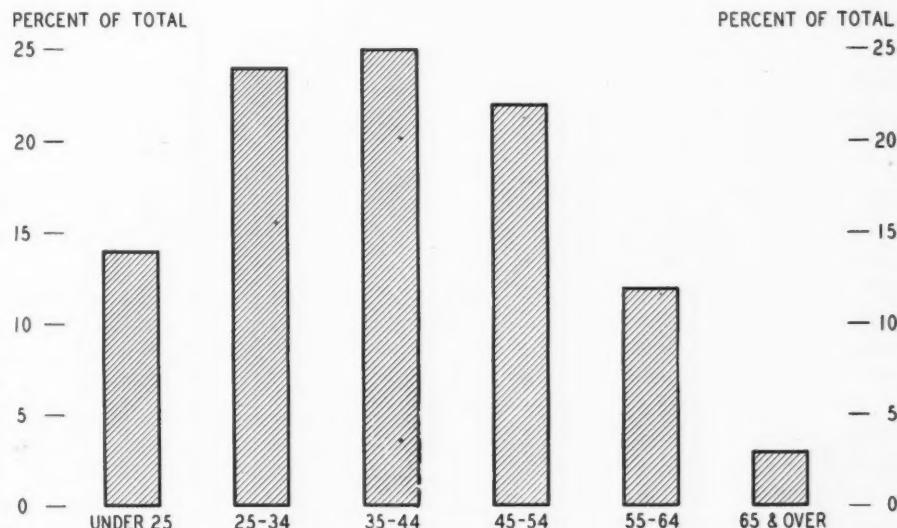
The reader has probably also noticed that only 3 per cent on the W.P.A. rolls are over 65 years of age. The reasons are that comparatively few people over 65 can qualify as employables, and hence be eligible for a W.P.A. job; moreover, in those States where old age assistance has recently become operative, people over 65 have been pensioned.

A further breakdown shows that of the male workers, 16.5 per cent were skilled workmen, 24.8 per cent were semi-skilled, 22.1 per cent were un-

skilled or common laborers. Another 9.9 per cent were clerical or white collar workers, 16.2 per cent were originally farmers, 4.2 per cent were engaged in domestic or personal services, and 6.3 per cent were inexperienced before coming to the W.P.A. Of the women, 13.4 per cent were white collar workers, .2 per cent were classified as skilled workers, 18.1 per cent were semi-skilled, 1. per cent unskilled, 3.4 per cent were formerly engaged in farm work, 27.5 per cent were employed in domestic or in personal services, and 36.4 per cent were inexperienced and unclassifiable, before the depression. This large group represents women who

are familiar with every public relief agency in the United States. They know by experience and by the professional standing of the local relief authorities how reliable their findings are. Periodic check-ups are made, sometimes in specific local areas and sometimes on a State-wide or nation-wide basis. Should a person certified by local relief agency be found unfit or not in need of work (from a relief standpoint) he is automatically dropped from the W.P.A. rolls and sent back to the local authorities. In the thousands of investigations made by the W.P.A., the number of chiselers found on the work rolls has been negligible.

AGE OF WPA WORKERS



were housewives and younger women who had never worked before. They are either heads of households or the only employable workers of families.

It is frequently asked: How do you determine who is in need? How do you weed out the chiselers? How do you know whether a man is qualified for a particular job? These are interesting questions and to the point. They deserve candid answers.

Theoretically, the W.P.A. does not determine who is to receive work relief. The local, public relief agencies certify workers as in need of relief. They certify further that the worker is employable, physically and mentally. The matter of determining need and employability is, therefore, primarily the task of the local relief agencies.

Theoretically, again, the job of the W.P.A. is to put as many people to work as the local authorities certify within the limits of the funds available for the program. In reality, the W.P.A. does more. Its State and local offices

Insofar as possible, workers are assigned to the same kind of jobs they held before coming to the W.P.A. Should a worker show himself incapable of doing the work to which he is assigned, he is reassigned to a job for which he is qualified. All assignments of jobs are made through the local W.P.A. offices, where the project supervisors actually see the work being done by each worker.

Paying for Relief

Congress appropriated one and a half billion dollars for work relief for the current fiscal year. Of that amount between 40 and 50 million dollars, or about 3 per cent, will be spent by the National Youth Administration for purposes of training and educating, as well as assisting financially, some 350,000 of the youth of the land; another 75 to 100 million, or about 6 per cent, will go to the Farm Security Administration (formerly the Resettlement Administration) for the program of

*This percentage figure does not include the special youth programs, the N.Y.A. and the C.C.C. Were these two groups included the percentage of this age group would be approximately the same as in private industry.

rehabilitation of destitute farmers. Another $52\frac{1}{2}$ million has been set aside by law for the flood-control program of the Army Corps of Engineers. That leaves a balance of about \$1,300,000,000 to be spent under the supervision of the Works Progress Administration for the period of July 1, 1937, to June 30, 1938.

At the present writing there are approximately one and a half million workers on the W.P.A. rolls. Because of seasonal shifts in numbers of unemployed in various parts of the country, this number may go somewhat higher during the winter months.

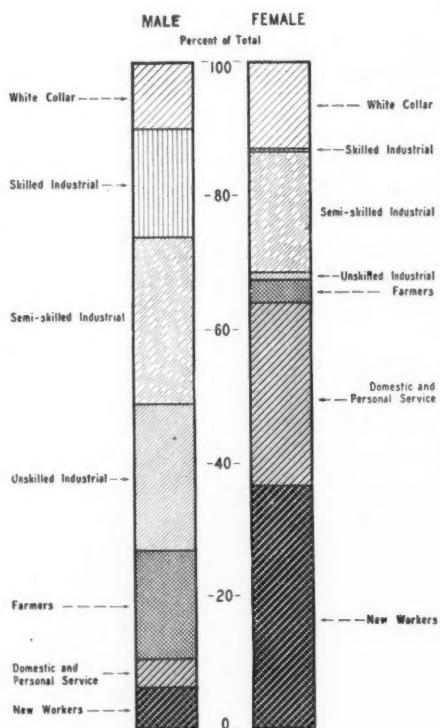
A million and a half is a great many workers—more, in fact, than are employed in the steel, automobile, and coal industries combined. With their families included, the number of dependents on the W.P.A. is almost equal to the entire population of New York City. A comprehensive and thorough system of finance is necessary if every worker, in all parts of the United States, is to receive his pay on time. How this is done has aroused the curiosity of many, judging by the number of times this question is asked. Yet the problem is not so difficult as it sounds.

Let us see how these funds filter through, from Washington to the man on the job in any city or county. The money is appropriated by Congress and the President is authorized to spend it. The President makes allocations to the W.P.A. from month to month as funds are needed. From that point the money is broken up. The central W.P.A. office in Washington makes a specific allocation for each State. Each State Administrator in turn allocates the money to the various localities within the State. These are all bookkeeping figures since the W.P.A. doesn't actually handle the money or pay the wages directly to the workers. The local W.P.A. offices certify the payrolls to the Treasury Department, which maintains branch offices in all the States; the Treasury Department actually draws the checks. These checks are turned over to the W.P.A. officials, who distribute them to the workers. This system has been routinized and works practically without a flaw. Of all the millions of checks paid out to W.P.A. workers, the instance of a man's check being lost or delayed is extremely rare.

W.P.A. wages are not equal for every person on its rolls. For example, the wages for unskilled workers range from \$21 per month in the rural South to

\$60.50 per month in New York City. Similarly there is a variation in wages in all classifications of W.P.A. workers—intermediate, skilled, professional and technical. This last group is the highest paid of all W.P.A. workers and their pay ranges from \$42 per month to \$104.50 per month. The average W.P.A. wage of security workers throughout the United States is \$54.84 per month.

FORMER OCCUPATION OF WPA WORKERS



The reason for these differences in pay is obvious: cost of living and living standards vary in different States and localities. Since W.P.A. work is relief work, the pay per month for each grade of worker does not go above what is called the security wage. In reality this wage represents the amount of money necessary to maintain a subsistence standard of living.

W.P.A. workers frequently do not work a full month for their monthly pay. The hourly wage approximates the prevailing wage-scale in the community. The worker is given enough work time to earn the maximum amount under his classification. For example, if a common laborer earns fifty cents an hour and his security wage is \$50 per month, he works but 100 hours a month on a job to earn his full pay. So, while the hourly rate of pay for workers corresponds to the prevailing wage rate of the community, the total monthly pay is kept within the security wage.

People interested in the mechanics of the program very frequently ask, How is the amount of money each State gets determined? That can be answered by an example. Suppose in the State of Ohio there are 100,000 destitute employables. Suppose also, that, over the entire country, the W.P.A. program, because of budgetary limitations, is caring for but 80 per cent of the total number of needy employables. Then the W.P.A. State office in Ohio will get enough money to take care of 80 per cent of its load, or 80,000 workers. It will get enough money to pay its workers, purchase or rent equipment, buy materials and pay for its administrative expenses. The State Administrator follows the same procedure in apportioning the money to localities within the State. Money, therefore, is not sent into a State based on the total population of that State; rather, the percentage of funds for any given State, for any given period, is determined by the number of unemployed who are certified by the local relief authorities as in need and able to work and by the security-wage scale of that State and the localities within the State.

It is constantly pointed out that one State may profit from the program more than another. That is true. Those States which have a relatively high percentage of unemployment receive comparatively more money than those States with lower unemployment figures. In this respect the W.P.A. program is entirely a Federal program. It looks on the problem of unemployment as a national problem, and makes no attempt to divide the available money proportionately, either on the basis of population or size of the States.

We have all heard a great deal about administrative or overhead expenses in connection with the W.P.A. program. On May 5, 1937, Harry L. Hopkins, W.P.A. Administrator, appearing before the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives, testified that the cumulative administrative expense of the W.P.A. program since its inception was 4.2 per cent. Since the program has been curtailed financially for this fiscal year, and since the area of W.P.A. operations remains the same, the administrative expenses would naturally be expected to increase on a percentage basis. But by severe cuts in personnel and by combining field offices, we have been able not only to maintain the same administrative percentage cost but to reduce it slightly. One policy

is definite: the administrative expense for this entire fiscal year regardless of what circumstances may arise, will not exceed 5 per cent of the total.

Without injecting argument into this article, it must be kept in mind that the W.P.A. is a far-flung and necessarily complex organization, reaching into practically every county, city, town, village and hamlet of the nation. The

98 per cent of all W.P.A. projects originate locally.

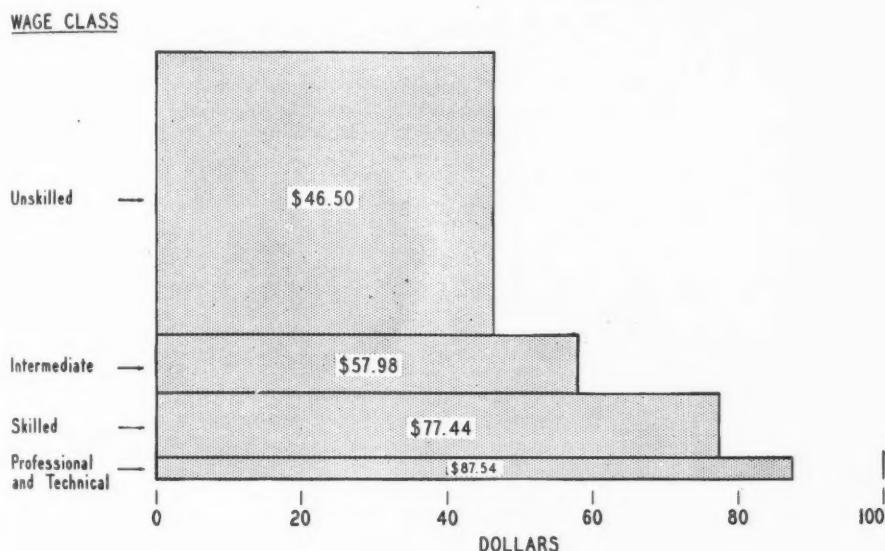
Let us take a typical project as an example. Let us assume that responsible officials of the City of Miami, Florida, submit a project for the erection of a school building. The proposed project is examined by the local director of the W.P.A., who sends it on to the State office, where it is thoroughly

posed project feasible from a technical viewpoint and at the same time socially worthwhile? If these four questions are answered in the affirmative and if the project comes within budgetary limitations, it is approved.

It should be pointed out, however, that not all projects which have been approved are started immediately after approval. The States are encouraged to build up a reservoir of projects. The State W.P.A. Administrator selects projects for operation in accordance with the available skills necessary to the efficient execution of the project and in accordance with the preference of the community concerned as measured by the amount of the sponsors' contribution. The building up of reserve projects permits a smooth working of the entire program: there is seldom a lag between the completion of one project and the taking up of a new project. The State and local officials do not have to keep workers unemployed while waiting for Washington to approve a project.

The local authorities are concerned also with the financial aspects of a project. They are encouraged to make "sponsors' contributions." When the W.P.A. figures \$800 per year per man as a basic cost for its program, the average percentage for materials and equipment is necessarily small. It must be remembered that 85 per cent of all Federal W.P.A. funds goes directly for labor. Sponsors' contributions are used primarily to supplement non-labor costs of the project. In the past fiscal year the localities or spon-

AVERAGE MONTHLY EARNINGS OF WPA SECURITY WAGE WORKERS



program cannot be run from a central office and best meet the needs of the locality; it has to be decentralized to be efficient.

The administrative expenses of W.P.A. compare most favorably with large private organizations. In line with the President's economy drive, costs are constantly being trimmed to bring the administrative cost of the program down to as low a figure as possible, consistent with efficient management.

Work Projects

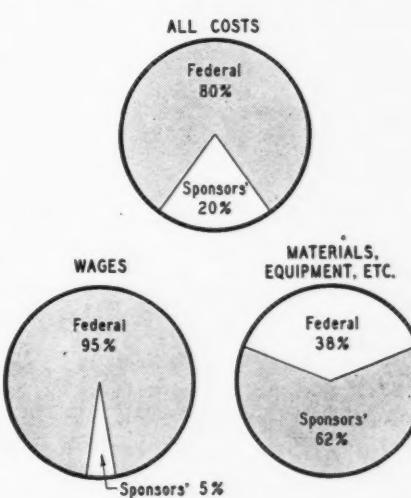
We have discussed W.P.A. workers and we have discussed W.P.A. money. We now come to the subject of W.P.A. work projects, about which so much is heard and on which the entire program rests. There is a definite tie-in between projects and money, but they start from opposite ends. As we pointed out, the money for the W.P.A. program originates in Washington and from there is allocated to the States and in turn to the W.P.A. districts within the States. Projects, on the other hand, originate for the most part in the localities and come through the various stages until they reach Washington and are approved by the President. Over

inspected by the technical officials of that office. Then the project is sent to the W.P.A. central office in Washington. If our office in Washington approves it the chances are that the President will give it his final approval. The President, however, has the veto power on any project submitted to the W.P.A.

While this procedure, like the finance procedure, may sound complicated, it too has been routinized and works smoothly and with dispatch.

In the matter of W.P.A. work projects there exists a real partnership between the Federal and local Governments. The initiation of State, county, and city projects is left entirely in the hands of the local authorities. The W.P.A., as a Federal agency, concerns itself only with four considerations before a project is approved: (1) Does the project best meet the unemployment needs of the locality for which it is proposed? (2) Have the local sponsors evidenced enough interest in the project by contributing funds to it in sufficient amount so that practically all the Federal money involved can go directly to labor? (3) Have all the legalities of the Congressional Act, appropriating the money for work relief, been complied with? (4) Is the pro-

SPONSORS' SHARE OF WPA COSTS

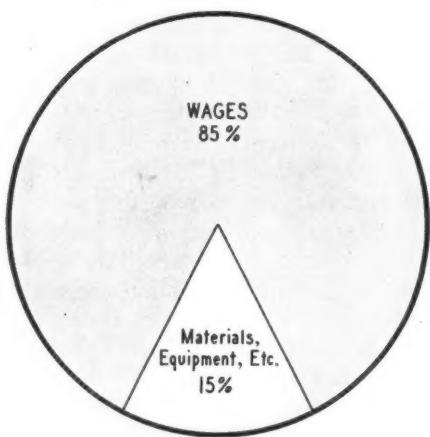


sors matched Government W.P.A. funds to the extent of some 14 per cent of the total; currently, sponsors' funds are running close to 20 per cent.

A word here is in order about Fed-

eral W.P.A. projects as contrasted to local W.P.A. projects. There are four cultural, nation-wide projects under the direct control of the central W.P.A. office in Washington. These are the Federal Writers' Project, the Federal

WPA FEDERAL EXPENDITURES



Music Project, the Federal Theatre Project, and the Federal Art Project. These projects, it is obvious, lend themselves to handling on a nation-wide basis, from an administrative point of view. Each State has, however, advisory committees to assist in carrying out the program. Also, the local relief agencies certify these workers as they do all other W.P.A. workers.

Another type of Federal project is work which is done on Federal property located in the several States. Of course local relief workers are engaged on these projects but technically the sponsors are Federal agencies and not local authorities.

At the present writing there are some 35,000 W.P.A. projects going on in the United States. Of this number approximately 34,350 or over 98 per cent are locally sponsored. It must be pointed out again, however, that the workers engaged on Federal W.P.A. projects are relief workers, operating substantially under the same rules and regulations and receiving the same pay as do workers on local projects.

The W.P.A. engaged in a wide variety of projects. They range from building a municipal aquarium to conducting classes for illiterates; from building a sewer system to beautifying a public park; from repairing a road to building sanitary privies in rural areas. A project that may be superfluous in one area is a necessity in another. The W.P.A. does not judge proposed projects abstractly, but considers each and every project in terms of the locality where it originates.

In the past, four fifths of all W.P.A. projects have been construction proj-

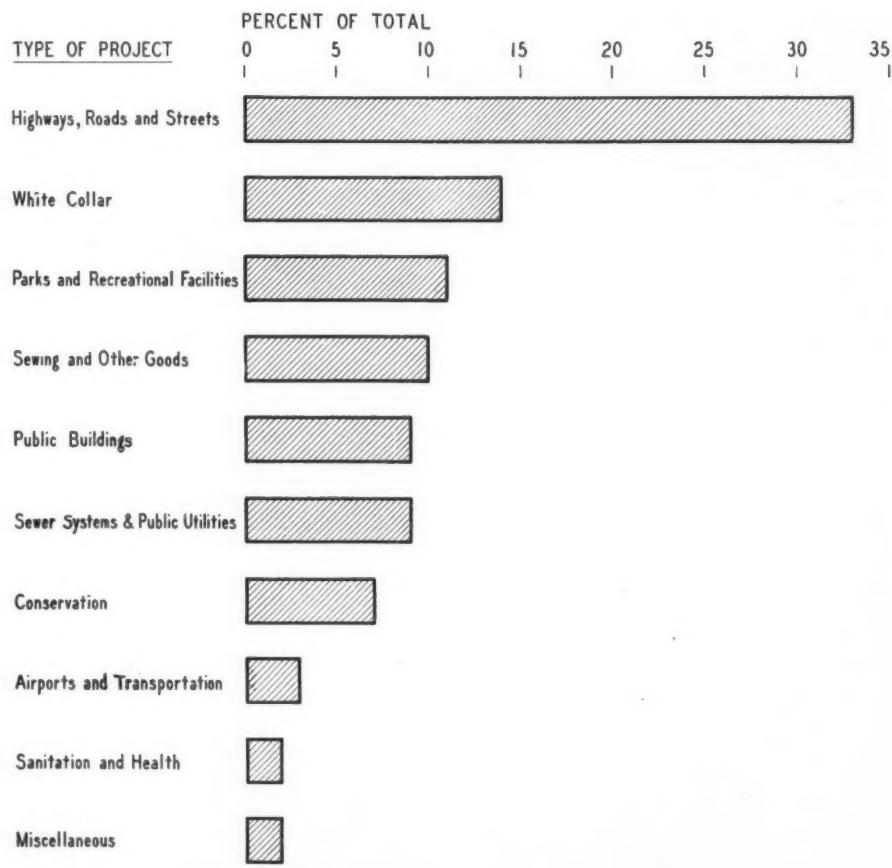
ects. Thirty-three per cent of the total W.P.A. project expenditures in the past fiscal year has gone for highways, roads, and streets, with particular emphasis on farm-to-market roads and on secondary county roads. Approximately 9 per cent of the total went for the erection, renovation, or repair of public buildings—schools, hospitals, recreation buildings, court houses, etc. Another 11 per cent went for parks, playgrounds, swimming pools and other recreational facilities. Seven per cent went for conservation projects—forestation, erosion control, irrigation and water control. Another 9 per cent went for sewer systems and other public utilities; 2 per cent went for sanitation and health projects other than sewers such as elimination of stream pollution and eradication of mosquitoes and other pests. Three and one half per cent went for Federal, nation-wide projects. Three per cent of the total went for airports—new municipal air-

statistical surveys. Approximately 10 per cent went for such projects as sewing and canning on which most of the women are employed. (The products resulting from projects of this type are turned over to the local relief agencies and distributed to needy families.) The balance, or some 2 per cent, went for a large assortment of miscellaneous projects.

Construction projects are self-evident. Everybody sees them in process, on roads, in towns, and in cities. The white collar projects are not so obvious and, therefore, not quite so understandable. It is these projects which have received the bulk of adverse criticism directed at the W.P.A. program.

In January 1936, 12 per cent of all employables certified for work relief were white-collar workers. These people did not emerge unscathed from the prolonged depression; they were in need of work relief as much as man-

WPA FEDERAL EXPENDITURES BY TYPE OF PROJECT



ports and the enlargement or the repair of old—and transportation and navigation projects. Ten and a half per cent of the total went for the non-Federal white collar and professional projects—education, library projects,

and laborers. Let us examine the value of a few of these non-physical, white collar projects, not in terms of statistics but in terms of general accomplishments.

The Federal Art Project has opened

Physical Accomplishment on WPA Projects for a 1-Year Period

Type	Unit of measurement	Construction		Type	Unit of measurement	Construction	
		New construction	Repairs or improvements			New construction	Repairs or improvements
Highways, roads, and streets:							
Bituminous or concrete roads	Miles	2,454	3,813	Water supply, sanitation and drainage systems—Con.	Number	130	58
Brick or block roads	Miles	267	508	Pumping stations	Capacity in gals. per day	94,347,605	364,763,120
Dirt, clay, or gravel roads	Miles	22,765	61,453	Water purification plants	Number	14	4
Improvement of roads	Miles	3,658	27,614	Water mains	Capacity in gals. per day	2,355,000	3,500,000
Road shoulders	Miles	1,555	18,838	Wells	Number of service connections	1,651	683
Grade-crossing elimination by relocation	Number eliminated	16	—	Sprinkler systems	Length of pipe in feet	48,206	53,507
Grade-crossing elimination by viaducts	Miles of road	26	—	Buildings:	Number	124	149
Bridges	Number	6	—	Administrative buildings	Floor area in sq. ft.	544	1,022
Culverts	Length of viaducts in feet	323	—	Educational buildings	Number	97	110
Sidewalks and paths	Length in feet	7,633	12,953	Institutional buildings	Person capacity	4	—
Curbs and gutters	Length in feet	251,803	435,627	Airport hangars	Floor area in sq. ft.	415,794	2,360
Roadside landscaping	Number	85,811	26,541	Enclosed recreational buildings	Number	1,097,404	3,097,086
Guardrails and guard-walls	Length in feet	2,231,478	637,383	Open recreational buildings	Floor area in sq. ft.	1,099,514	7,176
Lights for roads and streets	Miles	2,540	1,972	Warehouses and other storage buildings	Pupil capacity	5,752,075	135,242,218
Fire trails	Length in feet	7,936,922	3,721,208	Demolition (except slum clearance)	Number	158,611	2,750,670
Flood and erosion control—Irrigation—Navigation aids:							
Grading	Cu. yds. excavated	17,741,185	—	Buildings:	Number	155	870
Bulkheads	Cu. yds. filled	11,393,719	—	Administrative buildings	Floor area in sq. ft.	610	2,360
Number	Number	181	127	Educational buildings	Number	2,596,260	36,907,086
Docks, wharves, and piers	Length in feet	71,630	27,022	Institutional buildings	Person capacity	1,099,404	7,176
Jetties and breakwaters	Number	27	52	Airport hangars	Floor area in sq. ft.	1,097,404	22,170,172
Levees and embankments	Feet of waterfront	9,082	44,476	Enclosed recreational buildings	Number	8,803	151,932
Riverbank improvement	Area in sq. ft.	161,579	1,999,707	Open recreational buildings	Floor area in sq. ft.	1,099,514	336
Riprap (other than riverbank)	Number	28	15	Warehouses and other storage buildings	Pupil capacity	5,752,075	2,750,670
Retaining walls and revetments	Miles	5	4	Demolition (except slum clearance)	Number	158,611	4,004
Stream bed improvement	Cu. yds. placed	86,792	17,600	Buildings:	Volume in cu. ft.	12,895,598	37,948,633
Canals and channels	Miles	107	209	Administrative buildings	Volume in cu. ft.	—	40,645,004
Irrigation	Cu. yds. placed	4,957,608	4,075,450	Educational buildings	Number	—	715
Dredging	Miles	—	653	Institutional buildings	Floor area in sq. ft.	901	703
Terraces (including erosion terraces)	Sq. yds. surfaced	1,229,034	474,300	Airport hangars	Ship capacity	2,843,162	16,147,790
Number	Cu. yds. placed	410,508	152,735	Enclosed recreational buildings	Number	186	715
Number	Number	4,014	2,200	Open recreational buildings	Floor area in sq. ft.	3,043,493	4,507,650
Length in feet	Length in feet	1,056,166	454,026	Warehouses and other storage buildings	Number	478	174
Cu. yds. placed	Cu. yds. placed	705,855	293,282	Demolition (except slum clearance)	Volume in cu. ft.	2,084,670	2,927,690
Miles	Miles	—	2,307	Buildings:	Volume in cu. ft.	12,895,598	521
Nu. nber	Nu. nber	128	* 178	Administrative buildings	Number	—	4,004
Irrigation	Miles	112	416	Educational buildings	Floor area in sq. ft.	1,099,514	40,645,004
Number of projects	Number of projects	26	50	Institutional buildings	Person capacity	8,803	22,170,172
Dredging	Acres irrigated	72,080	1,039,950	Airport hangars	Floor area in sq. ft.	1,097,404	2,360
Terraces (including erosion terraces)	Miles	80	4	Enclosed recreational buildings	Number	8,803	7,176
Number	Acres	624	193	Open recreational buildings	Floor area in sq. ft.	1,099,514	336
Length in feet	Length in feet	1,315	3,138	Warehouses and other storage buildings	Pupil capacity	5,752,075	2,750,670
Area in sq. ft.	Area in sq. ft.	2,787,470	10,001,380	Demolition (except slum clearance)	Number of structures	158,611	4,004
Recreational facilities:							
Athletic fields and playgrounds	Number	1,415	1,535	Buildings:	Square feet of area cleared	—	40,645,004
Golf courses	Acres	5,981	6,889	Electric and communication utilities:	Number	22	8
Parks and fairgrounds	Number of courses	39	55	Power dams	Impoundage in acre feet	1,754	811
Swimming pools	Number of holes	435	673	Powerhouses	Number	5	10
Number	Acres	3,355	5,229	Transmission lines	Floor area in sq. ft.	22,480	195,588
Number	Acres	425	1,058	Distribution lines	Kilowatt capacity	9,830	19,078
Number	Acres	17,020	48,312	Telephone and telegraph lines	Miles underground	15	15
Surface area in sq. ft.	Number	2,808,607	589,301	Fire alarm systems	Miles above ground	30	26
Grounds improvements:							
Fencing	Feet of line fence	2,776,274	2,062,820	Kilowatt capacity	Kilowatt capacity	4,618	3,242
Lengths for parking lots	Feet of enclosing fence	2,384,857	—	Miscellaneous:	Number of service connections	1,442	2,729
Other grounds improvements	Acres enclosed	10,709	—	Distribution lines	Miles underground	23	49
Acres	Acres lighted	3	—	Telephone and telegraph lines	Miles overhead	22	49
Acres	Acres	—	100,450	Fire alarm systems	Miles underground	120	37
Airports and airway equipment:							
Landing fields	Number	45	67	Mine sealing	Number of boxes	171	13
Number	Acres	4,207	8,360	Number of systems	1,859	2,503	
Bituminous airport runways	Number	41	49	Number of signals	43,065	35,667	
Concrete airport runways	Length in feet	92,624	94,450	Miscellaneous:	Area in sq. yds.	2,471,230	442,716
Other airport runways	Area in sq. yds.	2,111,188	1,259,296	Boats and ships	Number	174	5
Water supply, sanitation and drainage systems:	Number	7	—	Fire observation towers	Displacement tonnage	143	1,910
Drainage ditches	Length in feet	17,850	—	Tunnels	Number	13	9
Drainage work other than ditches	Area in sq. yds.	226,555	—	Mine sealing	Miles	63	9
Sanitary toilets	Number	37	27	Number of mines	Number of openings sealed	10	1
Storm or sanitary sewers (trunk lines)	Length in feet	97,194	76,405	Number of openings sealed	43,065	43,065	15
Storm or sanitary sewers (laterals)	Area in sq. yds.	2,303,310	795,555	Miscellaneous:	Number	—	—
Sewage treatment plants	Number	36,088	6,916	Number	Number	—	—
Storage dams	Acres drained	1,533,822	4,305,171	Garments	Number	31,441,541	—
Number	Linear feet of ditch	23,592,747	28,520,151	Cloth	Number	247,452	—
Number	Number	1,073	2,559	Foodstuffs	Number	272,948	—
Number	Acres drained	129,759	127,832	Education, professional, and women's activities:	Work in libraries	Number of books repaired	11,142,684
Number	Linear feet of pipe	1,858,393	1,470,339	Sewing rooms operated	Number of books cataloged	9,486,134	—
Number	Number	431,014	3,595	Canning	Number of sewing rooms	10,052	—
Miles	Miles	2,172	802	School lunches served	Number of articles produced or repaired	60,839,800	—
Miles	Miles	1,185	282	Medical, dental, and nursing assistance	Number of operating units	746	—
Number	Number of service connections	107,148	22,824	Gardens cultivated	Tons of food canned	6,316	—
Capacity in gals. per day	Number	1,155	97	Number	Number	72,437,606	—
Number	Impoundage in acre feet	57,349,962	107,308,210	Number of visits, examinations or treatments	Number of gardens	9,110,287	—
Storage dams	Number	1,593	93	Number of acres	Number of acres	8,987	2,291

the way for a new cultural expression in America. Hundreds of thousands of people have been introduced to the theatre—people who did not have the price of admission or who were too far removed from theatrical centers. The effects of this program will endure long after the present participants in it are gone.

The educational program has systematically reduced adult illiteracy in the United States; it has assisted in the naturalization of aliens by providing education in the fundamentals of American citizenship; it has provided vocational education for unemployed men and women.

As the result of a W.P.A. survey it was found that no service appears to offer greater opportunities for employment than recreational leadership. With the work week steadily decreasing and with leisure time increasing there is a definite need and a definite demand for additional recreational facilities and programs—not so much the spectator type of recreation but rather the participating type. The W.P.A. is training suitable people for recreational leadership and is encouraging participation by all people—old and young—through well integrated recreational programs.

Thousands of W.P.A. clerical workers have aided State and local agencies in making surveys and bringing official records up to date. Traffic surveys have been made in practically every community of the United States to aid local officials in prescribing traffic regulations. Real property inventories have been made for many cities where they were badly needed. Research projects have been conducted to determine causes of and trends in unemployment. The cost of living in various cities and sections of the country has been studied. Special studies on farm tenancy, housing, migratory and transient

labor, and many similar subjects have added materially to the knowledge of our Country and people.

W.P.A. nursing and public health projects are now in operation in most of the States. All such projects are sponsored by State or local units of public health. The W.P.A. personnel works under the direction of these agencies, rendering services which the regular public health offices, because of limited personnel and too much work, are unable to provide. W.P.A. nurses and technicians assist in immunization campaigns against typhoid, diphtheria, smallpox, and other diseases. They promote physical and oral hygiene through health campaigns. They examine children for communicable diseases, physical defects, and tooth decay. In these and in many other ways does the W.P.A. supplement and assist in the work of the local health authorities.

In touching merely on the highlights of the so-called white-collar projects, it becomes obvious, in my opinion, that these projects have definitely contributed to the well-being of our people; that, in terms of work accomplished, they have more than justified the expenditure necessary for their operation.

What Shows for the Money?

A question most frequently asked is: what do you have for your money when it is spent? What will the Government have to show for the billion and a half dollars which Congress appropriated for the Works Program for this fiscal year? Leaving aside the indirect values of the W.P.A. program—the preservation of the skills of the unemployed, maintaining morale, creating purchasing power—and limiting this inquiry to actual accomplishments and results, this question can be answered in a tangible way.

Since the fiscal year extends to June 30, 1938, we can but estimate the results of the program to that date. But when we base this estimate on a previous, one-year period, with about the same number of unemployed workers involved, we feel it will come close enough, for all intents and purposes, to the actual future figures. In fact, my estimate is very conservative.

The W.P.A. in a single year has built 30,000 miles of new roads and streets and improved or repaired 110,000 additional miles; has constructed 1,500 athletic fields and playgrounds and improved 1,500 additional; has built 250 and improved 61 swimming pools; has built 45 new airports and improved 67; has built 4,000 miles of new sewers and repaired an additional 1,000 miles; has built 500,000 sanitary toilets; has built some 4,500 new public buildings, and renovated or improved another 12,000; has repaired some 12,000,000 books in public libraries and catalogued 10,000,000; has planted some 5,000,000 trees and drained 500,000 acres of land.

These figures merely highlight the physical work accomplished. The accompanying table, covering the same time-period, furnishes a more detailed study.

* * * * *

In the course of this article I have tried to keep the promise, made in the introduction, to stick to facts and avoid arguments. The article, therefore, is anything but spectacular. However, those readers who have had the patience to go through it will have an honest and fair analysis of one of the most difficult and complex programs ever undertaken by any nation. Those readers, at least, will be able to discuss the W.P.A. program on a factual, reasoning, and intelligent basis rather than on an emotional basis, which has been the case only too frequently in the past.



PALESTINE IN PROPORTION

A noted historian rereads the Bible and reaches new convictions on the Holy Land

By H. G. WELLS

THE other day I was talking to an assembly of teachers and scientific workers on the problem of getting the elements of a modern world outlook into the ordinary human mind during its all too brief years of schooling and initiation. I was not persuading nor exhorting; I was exposing my thoughts about one of the primary difficulties in the way of a World Pax which will save mankind from the destruction probable in putting the new wine of mechanical and biological power into the worn bottles of social and moral tradition. I dealt with the swiftness of life, the shortness of time available for learning and the lag and limitations of teaching.

In my survey of the minimum of knowledge needed to make an efficient citizen of the world, I laid great stress upon history. It is the core of initiation. History explains the community to the individual, and when the community of interests and vital interaction has expanded to planetary dimensions, then nothing less than a clear and simplified world history is required as the framework of social ideas. The history of man becomes the common adventure of Everyman.

I deprecated the exaggerated importance attached to the national history and to Bible history in western countries. I maintained that the Biblical account of the Creation and the Fall gave a false conception of man's place in his universe. I expressed the opinion that the historical foundation for world citizenship would be better laid if these partial histories were dealt with only in their proper relation to the general development of mankind. In particular I pointed out that Palestine and its peoples were a very insignificant part of the general picture. It was a sideshow in the greater conflicts of Mesopotamia and Egypt. Nothing important, I said, ever began there or worked out there....

In saying that I felt that I was stating plain matter-of-fact to well-informed hearers. But it is not what I should have thought and said, forty years ago. And since the publication of my remarks, there have been a num-

ber of retorts and replies to my statement that have made me realize how widely and profoundly and by what imperceptible degrees, my estimate of this Jewish history has been changed since my early years and how many people still remain under my earlier persuasions. Long after I ceased to be a Christian, I was still obsessed by Palestine as a region of primary importance in the history of human development. I ranked it with Greece as a main source in human, moral and intellectual development. Most people still seem to do so. It may be interesting to state compactly why I have grown out of that conviction.

Evolution of a Concept

Very largely it was through rereading the Bible after an interlude of some years and with a fresh unprejudiced mind, that this change came about in my ideas. My maturer impression of that remarkable and various bale of literature which we call the Old Testament was that it had been patched a lot but very little falsified. Where falsification appeared, as in the number of hosts and slain in the Philistine bickerings, it was very naive, transparent and understandable falsification.

I was not impressed by the general magnificence of the prose, about which one still hears so much. There are some splendidly plain and vivid passages and interludes of great dignity and beauty but the bulk of the English Bible sounds to me pedestrian translator's English, quite unworthy of the indiscriminate enthusiasm that has been poured out upon it. From their very diverse angles the books of the Bible have an entirely genuine flavor. It is a collection; it is not a single book written *ad hoc* like the Koran. And the historical parts have the quality of honest history as well as the writers could tell it.

Jewish history before the return from Babylon as the Bible gives it, is the unpretending story of a small barbaric people whose only gleam of prosperity was when Solomon served the

purposes of Hiram by providing an alternative route to the Red Sea, and built his poor little temple out of the profits of portage. Then indeed there comes a note of pride. It is very like the innocent pride of a Gold Coast negro whose chief has bought a motor car. The prophetic books, it seems to me, reek of the political propaganda of the adjacent paymaster states and discuss issues dead two dozen centuries ago.

One has only to read the books of Ezra and Nehemiah to realize the real quality of the return of the miscellany of settlers from Babylon, a miscellany so dubious in its origins, so difficult to comb out. But a legend grew among these people of a Tremendous Past and of a Tremendous Promise. Solomon became a legend of wealth and wisdom, a proverb of superhuman splendour. In the New Testament we hear of "Solomon in all his Glory." It was a glory like that of the Kings of Tara.

When I remarked upon this essential littleness of Palestine I did not expect any modern churchmen to be shocked. But I brought upon myself the retort from the bishops of Exeter and Gloucester that I was obsessed by "mere size" and that I had no sense of spiritual values. My friend Mr. Alfred Noyes reminded me that many pumpkins were larger than men's heads, and what had I to say to that? But I had not talked merely of physical size. I had said that quite apart from size nothing of primary importance in human history was begun and nothing worked out in Palestine. That is, I had already said quite definitely that Palestine was not a head but a pumpkin and a small one at that.

A number of people protest. But, they say, surely the great network of modern Jewry began in Palestine and Christianity also began in Palestine! To which I answer, "I too thought that." We float in these ideas from our youth up. But have we not all taken the atmosphere of belief about us too uncritically? Are either of these ideas sound? I myself have traveled from a habit of unquestioning acquiescence to entire disbelief. May not others pres-

ently do the same? I do not believe that Palestine was the cradle of either Jewry or Christendom.

So far as the origin of the Jews is concerned the greater probability seems to me that the Jewish idea was shaped mainly in Babylon and that the return to Judea was hardly more of a complete return and concentration than the Zionist return today. From its beginning the Jewish legend was a greater thing than Palestine, and from the first it was diffused among

his way to a Semitic—a Jewish community there, and Semitic communities existed and Semitic controversies were discussed in nearly every centre of his extensive mission journeys. There was indeed a school of teachers in Jerusalem itself, but Gamaliel was of Babylonian origin and Hillel spent the better part of his life and learning in Babylon before he began to teach in Jerusalem. From the Bible itself and from the disappearance of Carthaginian, Phoenician, Babylonian national traditions

tions of Christian doctrine ceremony and practices to the preceding religions of Egypt, Western Asia and the Mediterranean, to the Egyptian trinity, to the Goddess Isis, to the blood redemption of Mithraism. In this great assembled fabric of symbols and ideas, the simple and subversive *teachings* of the man Jesus who was crucified for sedition in Jerusalem, play a not very essential part.

Christianity, I imagine, or something very like it, would have come into existence, with all its disputes, divisions, heresies, protestantism and dissents, if there had been no Essenes, no Nazarenes and no crucified victim at all. It was a natural outcome of the stresses and confusions that rose from the impact of more barbaric and usually Aryan-speaking conquerors, upon Egypt and upon the mainly Semitic-speaking civilizations, very much as Greek philosophy and art were the outcome of the parallel impact of the Hellenic peoples upon the Aegean cultural life. Old creeds lost their power and old usages their prestige. The temporarily suppressed civilization sought new outlets. The urgency towards new forms of social and moral statement and adaptation was very great.



Soibelman

The dome of the "Haram el Sharif" at Jerusalem

all the defeated communities of the Semitic-speaking world.

The synthesis of Jewry was not, I feel, very much anterior, if at all, to the Christian synthesis. It was a synthesis of Semitic speaking peoples and not simply of Hebrews. It supplied a rallying idea to the Babylonian, the Carthaginian, the Phoenician, whose trading and financial methods were far in advance of those of the Medes, Persians, Greeks and Romans who had conquered them. It was a diffused trading community from the start.

Jewry was concentrated and given a special character far more by the Talmudic literature that gathered about the Old Testament collection, than by the Old Testament story itself. Does anyone claim a Palestinian origin for the Talmud? I doubt if very much of the Bible itself was written in Palestine. I believe that in nine cases out of ten when the modern Jew goes back to Palestine he goes back to a country from which most of his ancestors never came.

When Paul started out on his earlier enterprise of purifying and consolidating Jewry before his change of front on the road to Damascus, he was on

simultaneously with the appearance of Jewish communities throughout the western world, communities innocent of Palestinian vines and fig trees and very experienced in commerce, I infer this synthetic origin of Jewry.

Of course if the reader is a believing Christian, then I suppose the crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth at Jerusalem is the cardinal event of history. But evidently that crucifixion had to happen somewhere and just as my Christian critics can charge me with being obsessed by mere size in my depreciation of Palestine, so I can charge them with being obsessed by mere locality. If the crucifixion has the importance attached to it by orthodox theologians then, unless my reading of theology is all wrong, it must be a universal and eternal and not a temporal and local event.

Moreover nowadays there is a considerable body of quite respectable atheists, theists and variously qualified Christians who do not find in that practically unquestionably historical event—I throw no doubt upon its actuality—the centre upon which all other events revolve. There has been a steady enlightenment upon the rela-

Legendary Distortion

It was, I suppose, the advantage of the nexus of Semitic communities throughout the western world, that favored the spread of Judaism and of the semi-Semitic Christianity that grew side by side with it rather than the diffusion of Persian religious inventions or Greek science and philosophy. It was an unpremeditated advantage. The thing happened so. And on that basis European mentality rests. We are all more or less saturated with this legendary distortion of historical fact. It makes us a little uncomfortable, we feel a slight shock when it is called in question.

Such is the conception of Jewish and Christian origins that has replaced the distortions of my early Low Church upbringing. It has robbed Palestine of every scrap of special significance for me and deprived those gigantic figures of my boyhood, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses of their cosmic importance altogether. They were local celebrities of a part of the world in which I have no particular interest. Once they towered to the sky. I want to get them and Palestine out of the way so that our children shall start with a better perspective of the world.

ARMING THE GOOD NEIGHBORS

An Open Letter to the Ladies of the Flying Caravan

By GENARO ARBAIZA

TO THE ladies of the Flying Caravan:

You have just returned from a 17,000-mile air tour of Latin America, where you went to urge upon the various governments an early ratification of the peace pacts signed at the Buenos Aires Conference a year ago. During your tour you have stopped at practically every Latin-American capital and have been greeted by foreign ministers and prominent public officials. You have spoken at public meetings and have been applauded at luncheons and banquets, honored at universities and cultural centers, feted at teas and cocktail parties. I imagine the cruise has provided you with the satisfaction of having worked for a noble cause, and that throughout your trip it has been your conviction that official Latin America has taken you seriously.

Well, as far as official Latin America is concerned, I am afraid you have only provided a good laugh for the gentlemen who are now in power from the Caribbean Sea to Patagonia. To be sure, you have received their assurances that the pacts will be ratified. And, no doubt, they will be. But, do you, perchance, think that their ratification will be an inducement to permanent peace? Just about the time you started on your crusade, Trujillo, the Dominican dictator, was slaughtering Haitian squatters by the thousands, and Trujillo's government is one of the only three governments that have ratified the Buenos Aires peace pacts.

The treaties you are so anxious to see in force left the basic causes of internal and international strife in Latin America untouched and have gone into the paper baskets of Pan-American diplomacy, already overflowing with forgotten peace pacts. The only real move for peace in the western hemisphere during recent times was made by President Roosevelt in 1933 when he dropped his predecessors' policy of armed intervention—and that was a spontaneous move, not the result of pacts.

I haven't the slightest doubt it has been your honest purpose to banish the fear of war from South America. But,

Recently, a delegation of five lady members of the People's Mandate for Peace started from Washington on a six-week airplane tour of Latin America in order to urge the governments of the southern republics to ratify the treaties signed at the Buenos Aires Conference a year ago as a means of securing peace in the Western Hemisphere. The accompanying letter is written to the lady crusaders.

may I ask, who wants to banish the fear of war down there? War has always been a very profitable business, and just now the universal fear of war is proving to be perhaps a more profitable business than war itself. Many of the gentlemen you met on your tour are playing the game now with great personal gain.

South America is an important territory in the world's armament trade. Some people regard it as the largest dumping market in that trade. And the armament traders have developed a special and most interesting technique in the market. They used their technique with great profit in the twenties, and they are using it again now. If you had not been so eager about the ratification of those peace pacts, you might have seen this technique in operation. And that would have brought you far nearer to the processes of international trouble-making than the discussion of peace pacts. But I shall tell you the story.

Post-War Arms Salesmen

Following the World War, European munitions makers and governments turned to South America for the sale of left-overs. Several Allied powers sent military missions and instructors to the young republics to teach them the science learned at the Marne, Caporetto, and the Dunajec, and pending debts for South-American wheat and coffee and beef and nitrate were settled with exports of trench mortars, bombs, and the like. Plans for increasing the South American military estab-

lishments were submitted by the missions, and a promising trade was started. When American bankers began raining gold dollars upon Latin America, the transatlantic flock of arms vendors and military envoys became a gold-dollar rush.

One of the cleverest things that the arms manufacturers' high-placed agents in South American capitals did at that time was to drop into the ears of presidents and war chiefs the idea of a South-American balance of power. None of the ideas imported from Europe into the South American international scene had a more magic effect. The South-American people woke up one day to learn from solemn editorials that there was a continental balance of power, and diplomats, politicians, wise grafters, patriotic fools, and college boys talked of grave international problems and dangers, national defense, armed peace, and militarized citizenries.

The arms traders pressed their game by playing up the current boundary disputes. The bitterest of them, the Tacna-Arica controversy between Peru and Chile, was drummed up into a war scare that threatened to involve also Bolivia, which had a grievance against Chile; Ecuador, which had another dispute with Peru; Argentina, because she was a neighbor of Chile and Bolivia; Brazil, because she was a rival of Argentina on the Atlantic coast, and Paraguay because she had another feud with Bolivia. It was the perfect setting for a continental shake-down.

England sent a naval mission to Chile, and the British Government sold a whole fleet to that republic: the battleship *Canada*, four light destroyers, and later six submarines built for the British Government in the United States by the Electric Boat Company. The press cried that the South American balance of power had been "badly dislocated" and that Argentina, Brazil and Peru were "taking a decided interest in the matter of increasing their naval strength."

American naval constructors hastened to the field. England and Vickers, the notorious Sir Basil Zaharoff's concern, were supplying Chile, and



NEA Service

"DRIVE-YOURSELF-WARSHIPS": The latest wrinkle in the South-American armaments game has been the proposal that the United States should lease some warships to Brazil. Here are some of the possibilities as seen by Herblock.

could not openly sell to Chile's rival and potential foe, Peru. So the Electric Boat Co., an American organization of which Sir Basil was a shareholder, and of which A. S. Roberts, Vickers' representative in the United States, was a director, went after the Peruvian business. In June 1920 Admiral Niblack, head of the U. S. Naval Intelligence, told Peruvian Ambassador Pezet at Washington that, in view of the Chilean purchases, "it was now a matter of Peru going into the market" and buying not only destroyers but also submarines. Electric Boat secured the Peruvian orders for naval equipment. Commander Aubry, Peruvian naval attaché at Washington and later representative of the Electric Boat Co. in South America, opened negotiations for the sending of an American naval mission to Peru. The mission arrived in 1919 to organize a Peruvian naval academy and reorganize the Peruvian fleet.

Argentina, outdistanced by Chile,

decided to enlarge her naval strength, and Brazil joined the race, increasing her army and navy expenditures to at least 35 per cent of her revenues. In the early twenties, Latin America was spending about \$235,000,000 a year in armaments and war and navy departments. The combined disbursements of the ABC powers aggregated \$145,000,000. A score of American arms manufacturers, including Du Pont, Remington Arms, Colt's Patent Firearms Manufacturing Co., the New York Shipbuilding Co., were elbowing their way in a market already crowded by the Vickers-Armstrong, Skoda, Schneider-Creusot, Krupp, and other European concerns.

The cry "Submarines are the weapon of the weak!" went around South America, and every South American country that could afford it bought submarines. England, France, Italy, and the United States shared most of the business. Even German naval constructors, who had been forbidden by

the Treaty of Versailles to build submarines, established yards in Holland and Sweden, and went to South America offering U-boats. Later on, the Japanese with Mitsubishi made their appearance among the competitors.

In 1922 the United States sent another naval mission, this time to Brazil, under the terms of a "contract" signed by Secretary Hughes and the Brazilian Ambassador Alençar in order "to assist the Brazilian Navy Department in all matters that pertain to improvement in the naval service." The sending of this mission, attacked by the Buenos Aires press, only served to stimulate naval competition between Brazil and Argentina. At the hearing of the Nye Committee held on September 5, 1934, Senator Clark, while questioning a witness about the matter, made this interesting disclosure: "It is a fact that the Secretary of the Navy stated at the time Congress passed the act to authorize the naval mission to various South-American countries that one of the purposes of it was to sell armaments and to induce them to install American equipment."

Armament Conference

Arming was in full swing when the South-American nations met at the Santiago Disarmament Conference in 1923. After the fracas of the conference, war chiefs and propagandists insisted upon more security, and there was more armament. During the succeeding years Argentina and Brazil undertook programs of naval building aggregating about \$130,000,000. Some time before these programs were adopted, the arms traders became so aggressive that President Bernardes of Brazil at a cabinet meeting on December 13, 1923, denounced "the existence of an international band formed for the purpose of intriguing in South American countries and obtaining the opportunity to make great sales of armaments." It was also reported that several propagandists had been arrested, among them three newspapermen and a diplomat. At the time, Aubry, agent for the Electric Boat Co., "was actively engaged in trying to induce both Argentina and Brazil to enter on a submarine building program."

There was another outcry. "Airplanes will decide future wars!" And European and American air missions descended upon the southern continent. Always preceded by a good publicity campaign, they often arrived with cargoes of planes which were disposed of at a low price while the fêted

air heroes got jobs as instructors. The British sent a loaded aircraft carrier to Rio de la Plata in 1930. Italy stationed De Pinedo as air attaché in Buenos Aires, and the French made transatlantic flights. General Balbo was dispatched by Italy in a spectacular flight to Brazil with 21 planes, and he sold them to the Brazilian Government. United Aircraft, Curtiss-Wright, controlled by Du Pont, Fairey of England, Caproni of Italy, Junkers of Germany, and others sold hundreds of war planes.

The Leticia affair, a petty frontier incident, was another ball of fire kicked down the continent. Prosperous Colombia, on the north part of South America, somewhat removed from the arms traffic maelstrom of the lower latitudes and enjoying comparative freedom, had this time to buy protection from the racketeers. She was made to spend many millions in purchasing a small fleet, an air armada, and war supplies in a dispute for a small jungle settlement which from the beginning could have been solved by diplomacy.

Arms Salesman at Work

The part played by the American munitions industry in the South Amer-

partners; they helped insolvent governments to finance war purchases by loans secured in the United States; they were assisted by American bankers in obtaining orders; they outfitted revolutionists as well as the governments the latter were revolting against; they taught Latin-American dictators and police forces how to put down insurrections and break strikes with the merciful help of tear-gas bombs.

This piling up of war equipment had a climax in the wave of revolutions and wars that followed the breakdown of the Coolidge Bull Market and culminated in the Chaco War and the Brazilian civil war of 1932.

The armament boom covered the whole period of prosperity, and at its peak there were between 300,000 and 400,000 men under arms in Latin America, most of them in South America. The munitions salesmen had a few corrupt allies in public office, but the great majority of Latin-Americans were bamboozled into a frenzied nationalism. It was the most extensive job ever pulled there by munitions makers, and the least laughable in results, for during that period more than 150,000 Latin-Americans were killed with the marketed wares.

The South American republics did

Europe. Thus Europe recaptured, in a vast triangular game, a substantial part of the funds that had been drained from Europe into the American reservoir during the war to be used by Americans to build the Latin-American investment dominion. The American munitions industry succeeded in making of Latin America its major customer abroad, but it was not able to displace the giant European arms traders who are entrenched in South America. They got, and still are getting, most of the business. Of course, north of Panama the United States would not tolerate armaments on the South-American scale. The European arms industry has been careful not to challenge, at least openly, the American tutelage in the area.

The Merchants Come Back for More

When South-American government vaults emptied during the depression years, many arms merchants packed their bags and left the market. But since 1935 economic recovery in South America has brought them back. And now a new armament boom is on. For the European nations that are producing munitions on a tremendous scale, it is comparatively easier to pay for South-American raw materials and



International

THE UNITED STATES ARMS SOUTH AMERICA: *The Western Hemisphere has furnished a profitable market for the arms makers. These American-built planes have been bought to strengthen Colombia, not against the outside world, but against her neighbors.*

ican armament boom of the Twenties was turned inside out by the Nye Committee. The arms makers and their salesmen "greased" their way through high official and military and naval quarters and bought influential politicians. They placed spies in government offices to watch their competitors' moves; they contributed funds to local political campaigns; they sold secretly to both belligerents or both prospective enemies, making them believe that each one alone was receiving their trade attention; they "fixed" bids and simulated competition with split-profit

not arm against the possibility of aggression from outside the continent, but only against each other. Chile armed herself against Peru, and Peru against Chile, and Argentina against Chile, and Brazil against Argentina, and so forth. A decade and a half of intensive militarization made more remote than ever the possibility of a South-American united front.

One third, at least, of the money lent to South-American governments by the United States in the twenties or about half a billion dollars was spent in buying war equipment, mostly from

foodstuffs with their over-supply of war materials than with other manufactures. Besides, as the rapid replacement of warships by great powers in their mad naval competition leaves behind many vessels which become a liability if not used, some of the European nations are offering naval bargains to South-American republics.

The most active competitors in the field are Italy, Germany, Great Britain, Japan, Czechoslovakia, and the United States. In a somewhat different setting, the arms makers are using the same methods they used during the

twenties, stirring up artificial rivalries, agitating for armaments through powerful newspapers, creating new conflicts and doing their best to keep South-American disputes open. But there is a new factor. The selling efforts of Italy, Germany and Japan also have as an aim the securing of a foothold in the military and naval establishments of some of the southern countries.

Economic recovery smiled first upon Argentina, and that is where the present "rearmament" boom began. Argentina undertook an extensive naval, military and air program in 1935, whereupon the press of Chile, Brazil, and other countries, pointing at the Argentine plans, clamored for the modernization and increase of the local war establishments. One of the first results, following the visit of the Brazilian Foreign Minister Macedo Soares to Santiago in December 1936, was a rapprochement between Brazil and Chile, both rivals of Argentina. Uruguay and Paraguay are planets in the Argentine system, but their support does not carry much weight. With Chile and Brazil in what looked like an anti-Argentine partnership, Buenos Aires found a friend in Peru. Early in 1937, right after the Buenos Aires Peace Conference, Argentina, in a superb show of strength that proclaimed her dream of hegemony in the continent, sent a squadron of eight warships to the South-American west coast on a visit to Peru. The Chilean press cried for war planes, and while the Argentine fleet was steaming past the Chilean coast, the Chilean Congress voted 100,000,000 pesos for bombers. At the same time, Brazil hastened to carry out a vast naval program, asking the United States for assistance and for the leasing of American destroyers. Landlocked and bankrupt Bolivia had been a potential enemy of Argentina since the Chaco War, which was instigated by Buenos Aires, but last month the Argentine Government—following the cancellation of oil concessions held by the Standard Oil in Bolivia—reopened the Argentine frontier to Bolivian oil, and now Bolivia, having a previous understanding with Peru, is with the Buenos Aires-Lima partnership. Ecuador, that has a boundary dispute with Peru, leans toward Chile, and so does Colombia since the Leticia affair. The South-American game revolves now around two cross axes: Argentina-Peru and Brazil-Chile.

Within this setting—the work of

the Zaharoffs of South America—there are boundless possibilities for international intrigue, "international dangers," and the selling of munitions. Another possibility is a new period of revolutions and wars as that of the late twenties and early thirties.

The rivalry between Argentina and Brazil is a terrific rivalry—in importance. Each country answers in the first person to the infantile question: "Which is the greatest country in



Times Wide World

NOBEL PRIZE WINNER: Dr. Carlos Saavedra Lamas, Argentine Foreign Minister, who said after the Buenos Aires Conference, "Now we have to arm to the teeth."

South America?" But when you think of the hundreds of millions of dollars spent in armaments by these two nations, their rivalry has a definite economic meaning. An equally clever piece of work by the international provocateurs has been the revival of the Chilean-Argentine rivalry, that had subsided since the erection of the "Christ of the Andes" upon the mountains separating both countries. Inspired articles in Chilean organs attribute to Argentina greedy designs upon Chilean territory in Magallanes and Tierra del Fuego, and Argentine and Peruvian spies are reported to have been caught recently in Chile gathering information about Chilean warships and coast fortifications.

Britain Arms Argentina

The biggest slice in the South-American rearmament pie so far has

been the Argentine naval program, and the British naval constructors have got most of the helping. Last September, the \$2,000,000 destroyer *Misiones* slid down the gaily decorated slipways at Birkenhead, England, the seventh Argentine warship to be launched in Britain in 1937. Argentine has ordered in English and Scottish shipyards seven destroyers, similar to the British H class, and one 7,000-ton training ship, which will be delivered between February and May this year. The Buenos Aires Government is also building ten mine-layers in its own shipyards, and the Argentine navy is to be supplemented with a number of auxiliary vessels and transports. Argentina is buying war-planes in several countries, including a recent order of 35 bombers in the United States at a cost of \$4,300,000.

Chile is planning an extensive modernization of her army and navy. She is to create a fourth army in the southern provinces, and to establish a military garrison in Arica. The Chilean naval program includes the purchase of a new training ship, two modern 8,000-ton cruisers at an approximate cost of \$13,000,000, and destroyers. Following the announcement of American naval assistance to Brazil last August, instructions were cabled from Santiago to the Aracena commission, then in Rome, to close a deal with German and Italian plants for the acquisition of military aircraft. The Aracena commission recommended the purchase of Junkers bombers and planes of the Breda type and amphibians now used by the Italian forces. Last October, when an Italian air mission visited Chile, the Santiago Government was reported to have bought sixty Italian planes. Italy, Germany, Japan and Great Britain are the most active bidders for the Chilean naval orders. Last August Italy was reported to have offered to the Santiago Government the 10,000-ton cruisers Pola and Zara of the 1930 class now in the Italian navy in exchange for Chilean nitrates. Some time before the Chambre Syndicale des Industries Aeronautiques representing the French aircraft industry was negotiating with the Chilean Government for the purchase of 120,000,000 francs worth of nitrate to be paid in planes.

Peru, as was mentioned in the last issue of *Current History*, has granted a concession to the Italian Caproni interests for the erection of an assembling airplane factory near Lima, and has bought a large number of war

planes from Italy. The factory, finished a short while ago, is now operated under Italian direction. Ecuador has also acquired military aircraft in Europe, and Venezuela has been reported as negotiating for the construction of two modern destroyers in Germany.

Second to the Argentine naval program, the Brazilian naval program is the most ambitious. It calls for the construction of two large cruisers, nine destroyers, five submarines, one training ship, six mine-sweepers, and scouting craft and smaller vessels which would be bought unassembled to be finished at the Ilhas das Cobras shipyards.

While Argentina has favored British naval constructors, Brazil has called on the United States for assistance in carrying out her naval program. Brazil, whose foreign policy has supported American policy in this hemisphere since the World War, has had American help in naval matters from the time the American naval mission was sent to that country in the early twenties. The mission, still there, was enlarged in August 1936. Some time ago the Brazilian battleship *São Paulo* was fitted with Sperry-Ford fire-control installation in the Brooklyn Navy Yard, and in January 1934 the Bureau of Ordnance of the United States Navy Department helped, as a matter of routine, the New York Shipbuilding Company in preparing estimates of bids on cruisers for Brazil. In January 1937 the Navy Department assisted the Brazilian Government in drawing up specifications and proposals for bids for material for the Brazilian 1500-ton destroyers. Early in May 1937 President Vargas drove the first rivets into the keels of new warships, and now three of the nine destroyers planned are being built in Brazil on plans drawn by United States engineers, and with American equipment. The remaining six destroyers are expected to be built in the United States and Great Britain. As for the proposed lease of over-age American destroyers to Brazil that aroused such an international howl a few months ago, it is only a secondary item in a very comprehensive plan of assistance.

Naturally this assistance has enlivened the naval race the South-American good neighbors are staging, and has come as the best break in years for American armament interests, including Du Pont and allied concerns, New York Shipbuilding and Bethlehem Steel, which have been hard after the

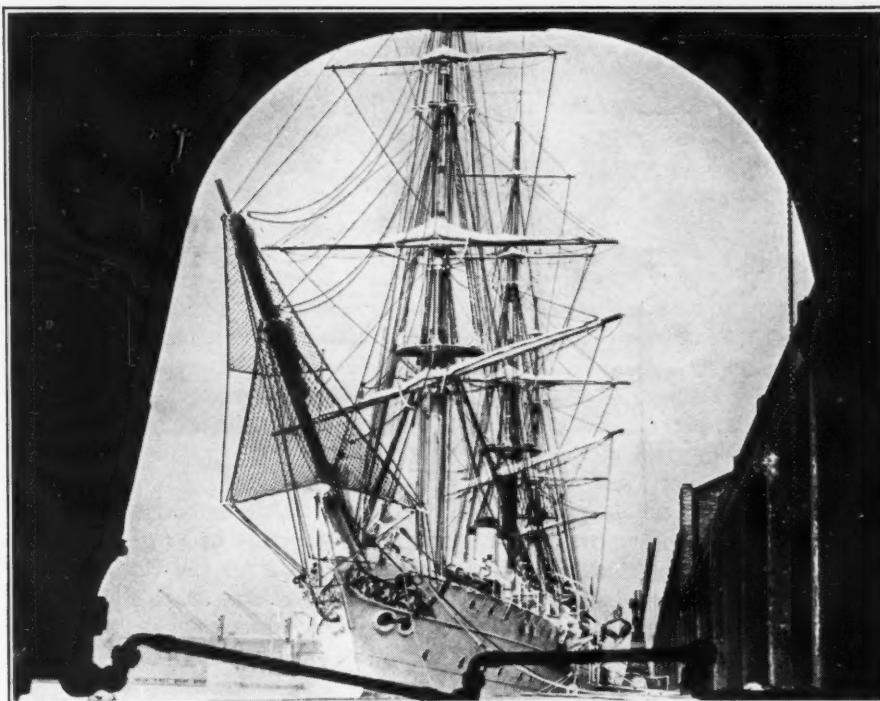
Brazilian business for more than a decade. Du Pont set up a powder plant for the Brazilian Government in the twenties, and has a very extensive organization throughout the continent.

Back to the Old Game

The Roosevelt administration in 1933 took a definite stand against encouraging armaments in South America, but apparently the bitter competition for economic advantage among world powers and the bullying tactics of Italy, Germany and Japan, have brought about a reversion of that policy. And now we are falling back to

Conference "for the Maintenance of Peace" was supposed to end with a set of pacts or treaties. But, as you see, it hasn't. South America is headed now in the same disastrous direction as it was before. Yet you, and with you millions of organized peace lovers in the United States, are still placing hopes in those treaties.

Do you know what Saavedra Lamas, the famous Argentine Foreign Minister, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1936, said when the Buenos Aires Peace Conference was over? This is a rather confidential piece of information. But I am handing it to you because I know how sincere is your in-



Times Wide World

HANDS ACROSS THE OCEAN: Argentina's rearmament has been the biggest pie for arms salesmen, and England has gained the biggest slice. Above is one of the ways in which she did it: the Argentine training ship, Presidente Sarmiento, takes its detachment of cadets to pay a diplomatic visit in London.

the same methods that failed in the twenties.

In the meantime, today, as in the twenties, South America is arming against South America. In the South-American press campaigns that have preceded and are keeping up the present race there has not been a single word about the danger of extracontinental aggression to the South-American republics. Only their local foreign-made rivalries have been played up. And it is doubtful whether South America will ever put up a united front against the international arms racket, because South-American public opinion is totally blind to the facts.

All this is what the Buenos Aires

terest in peace. He called the head of another South American delegation and told him: "Now we have to arm ourselves to the teeth!"

If you want to work for peace in Latin America, the way certainly is not to organize thrilling air tours in order to go and shake hands and drink cocktails over platonic peace pacts with the men who are arming South America against South America, in many instances only to fill their own pockets. A more practical design for peace would be to demand the control of the munitions traffic with Latin America, to follow the activities of the munition makers down there, and to expose them before the public opinion of the Americas.

"AMERICA'S BEST UNION"

By HERBERT HARRIS

This is the fifth of a series of articles taken from a book by Mr. Harris to be published by the Yale University Press early this year. The sixth installment will appear in the February issue of Current History.

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THE International Ladies Garment Workers is far more than a trade union. It is also a welfare agency, an educational institution, a philanthropic society and a kind of experimental station for the amicable adjustment of industrial disputes.

It was formed on June 3, 1900 at a "national convention" held in New York City's "Labor Lyceum" on East Fourth street and attended by eleven delegates. They represented the dubiously eager 2000 members of seven cloak makers' and pressers' unions located in Newark, Manhattan, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. The founders were able to raise \$30.00 in cash which covered the cost of the charter and seals that symbolized the International's affiliation with the A.F. of L. and left enough over for the General Secretary to buy (a) a ledger, (b) a bottle of ink, (c) pen and nibs, (d) stationery, all of which he tenderly transferred to his two rooms in a Lower East Side tenement, first "office" of the union.

Today the International has five million dollars in its treasury reserves, invested chiefly in Federal, State, and municipal bonds. It has 260,000 members, 70 per cent women, 30 per cent men, many of whom display an almost religious devotion to the union, its policies, and its leadership.

They pay dues ranging from \$.25 to \$.35 to \$.50 a week, in direct proportion to income. And certainly they get an amazing lot for their money. They get more perhaps than the adherents of any other union in the world.

In the 38 years of its existence, the International has reduced their hours from 70 to 60 to 56 to 52 to 48 to 40 to 35 and, beginning in 1939, to 32½ per week. It has similarly helped to raise their wages to a very appreciable extent, and to eliminate many and diverse health hazards. Yet its significance in the American labor movement is that it has gone beyond such

irreducible minima of any alert and intelligent unionism. Propelled by the special conditions of women's garment making, and by the aspirations of its polyglot *persona*, it has evolved an outlook of responsibility to industry and to the community at large that in itself forms a "case study" of socialist aims and ideals as muted and modified by the American environment.

Up until about 1870 "ready-made" dresses and gowns and hoopskirts, capes and cloaks and coats, mantuas and mantillas were made mostly by native-born women in the shops of the merchant who specialized in "Ladies' Furnishings and Notions" and who sold either by the yard or the garment. It was a trade largely dominated by German Jews whose ancestors in Berlin and Frankfurt had for generations conducted most of the clothing commerce in the realms of the First Reich.

In America such merchants, or merchant-manufacturers, allotted a special space in store or warehouse to the work of women who plied needle and thread and pedaled at Mr. Howe's "most marvelous and intricate machine" and were as a rule presided over by an "imported" French tailoress who saw to it that the results of all the sewing, cutting, pressing, pleating, basting and fitting at least approximated the fashions decreed by La Belle Paris.

Within the quarter of a century between 1870 and 1895, however, three crucial changes occurred in the industry. The first was technological. In 1876 the heavy steel cutting knife, sharp as a samurai's sword, was patented and put on the market. It enabled the operator to cut several designs at once, even from thick velvets and woolens and brocades, but it required a good deal of strength to wield it and men began to replace

women in doing the job. The second change was in the division of labor, quickened by improvements in the sewing machine, and which fostered the "contracting system" with its sweatshop evils. Many of the merchant-manufacturers as business grew, wanted to keep from overcrowding their shops with too many garment makers, since they occupied space better devoted to the still brisk piece-goods trade and for the sale of the finished apparel. Gradually, in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, and Chicago, such dealers began to "let out" first portions and then nearly all of their cheaper "ready-to-wear" work to "outside" shops, the owners of which guaranteed to furnish clothing made up to specifications. Meantime, the spasmodic growth of railroads, fanning out in all directions at once, like rivulets of iron, extended the demand for "boughten" raiment even to rural areas, while in the cities the aristocratic and their imitators were beginning to give up their seamstresses, permanent or traveling, and to patronize the better custom shops.

From 1890 to 1890 the industry's output jumped in value from \$32,000,000 to \$68,000,000. Invested capital rose from \$8,000,000 to more than \$21,000,000. The number of establishments increased from 562 to 1,224 and the number of workers from 25,192 to 39,149.

It was obviously a "coming" business. What was more, it was easy to enter. If you could obtain a "contract" or "bundles" from the larger merchant-manufacturer you could set up an outside shop of your own for as little as \$50.00. To meet orders that often swamped their facilities, the merchant-manufacturers—some of whom were becoming wholesalers and retailers only—thought it easier and cheaper to place upon the contractor the task of breaking in new labor and getting the finished goods out. The former believed that they could never carry on their business otherwise since "the number employed was so vast that it would be next to impossible to furnish sufficient workrooms for their accommodations in the same buildings where merchandise is sold."

By 1893 this trend had fastened itself upon the industry to such an extent that the New York State Bureau of Labor reported that in Gotham out of "a hundred wholesale-cloak houses"

The ILGWU Has Both a Social Philosophy and Something in the Bank for a Rainy Day

only "half a dozen now provide their own factories and workshops." Such firms as Oppenheim, Collins in New York, Marshall Field in Chicago, and Day, Callaghan in Boston each had as many as 25 or 30 "outside shops" turning out their women's wear for their counters.

Along with such developments, and marking the industry's third great change was the vast new influx of Jews from Russia, Poland, and Rumania, comprising 10.7 per cent of the total immigration to the United States from 1891 to 1900.

Early Sweat Shops .

The majority of such newcomers to the American garment industry found dark chaos instead of Canaan. Sweat shops were at this time moving towards their apotheosis of horror and degradation. Hundreds of them were located in tenement house fire-traps where in fetid, ill-ventilated rooms, full of vermin, and all the odors of domesticity, workers crowded upon one another and in fair weather spilled out onto roofs, still stitching doggedly away since they were paid on a piece-rate basis.

The laconic report of an Illinois factory inspector in 1893 describes a typical shop at 159 West Taylor street, Chicago:

"This is in rear of lot, over stable; entrance by narrow passage between houses in front; low-ceiled and dirty; bare brick walls; sink in room gives out bad smell; gasoline used in pressing; odors from alley and stable coming up combine to make stench unbearable; no separate closet for women; employs seven men, three women." And another at 549 West 19th street: "home shop, in basement of tenement house, low, dark and filthy; dimensions of workroom were 14 x 14 x 17½; two windows; room contained four sewing machines; stove with fire in it, and four men and three women working; air intolerably bad; folding doors were open between this shop room and living room in which Darwut (the owner) and his wife eat and cook and keep boarders; the boarders (two) slept in a low room off shop, unlighted and unventilated.

In New York City, chief center of the garment trade, conditions were even worse, if possible. Plumbing in the shops that clotted the lower East Side was still of the Chic Sale variety. The workers had to pay for the privilege of getting a job, and keeping it. They were ridiculed for clinging to old-country habits. Their ignorance was exploited on every side. They were fined for being a few minutes late. They had to buy their own needles and

thread from the proprietor, yielding him 300 to 500 per cent profit on package or spool. They had to work 16 and 17 hours a day, many of the single men sleeping on their "bundles" to "save rent" and to "borrow a couple of hours from tomorrow." "Mistakes" in payment, which were made by check, were frequent and enraging but argument about it could mean instant dismissal. Average wages were \$7.00 and \$8.00 and \$11.00 the week and

accept the political and economic views of their benefactors. A small minority was won over, however, forsaking the traditions of "Chedar" and "Schule" for the Social Revolution which, as every enlightened person knew, was just around the corner.

Yet the intellectuals and their handful of "rank-and-filers" wielded an influence far out of proportion to their numbers. They were sustained by the certitude that their cause was "just,



MAYOR LA GUARDIA VISITS THE HEALTH CENTER: "About 90,000 International members use the Union Health Clinic every year for everything from curing a cold to getting a cardiograph."

were often delayed until an entire shop had finished an "immediate delivery" order. Dust from cloth piled high on tables and floors promoted the whole list of pulmonary complaints. Sometimes whole families, especially "earners" labored from sunup to midnight to earn \$15.00 a week.

As early as 1886, under the leadership of the Jewish intellectuals, these workers had organized an "Anti-Sweating League" and in the German and Yiddish press and by word of mouth campaigned against sweat-shop thrallship. They urged the workers to study, to read, to learn English, to "orient" themselves to their new environment, and to dare to stand up against the most hard-boiled proprietor. Hence the workers were gradually accustomed to the idea that when in trouble, the only people to offer a helping hand were the intellectuals. At the same time, however, the latter gained few followers. The workers were grateful for aid and succor in time of crisis; they did not, as a whole,

right, and invincible." They were willing to take on themselves the most onerous tasks in calling strikes and seeing them through; and in the early days of unionism in the needle trades they assumed commanding roles.

During the eighties a few unions had been formed notably that of the Dress and Cloak Makers in New York City who had waged the industry's first significant strike in 1883. Their revolt spot-lighted the triangular nature of the trade with its special relations between manufacturer, contractor and labor, for in this instance the contractors tended to side, morally at least, with the workers against the Big Fry who allied themselves into the first Cloak Manufacturers Association to repel the "foolish and misguided" attacks of their newly-joined adversaries.

The walkout attracted a good deal of attention as the "Emigrants' Strike"; and the union, aided by the sob-sisters of the daily press and the Knights of Labor gained its goal of a

\$2.50 minimum for a day that began at 8 a.m. and ended at 6 p.m. It was chartered as a Knights of Labor local assembly but its immigrant members didn't quite know what it meant. To them a union was a bread and butter affair, a device for sating belly-hunger. They were unprepared for the grandiose mumbo-jumbo by which the Noble Order tried to express the yearnings of that day's labor for a greater personal dignity, a sense of "being somebody" other than a very "common laborer" at the bottom of the heap.

In his *Memoirs*, Abraham Rosenberg, who was to become first president of the International, depicts the astonishment that marked their first encounter with the Knights.

"I still retain," he said, "a vivid picture of the scene which took place when the District Master Workman and his deputies, all Irish, came to perform the ceremony of installing us. We were all new in America and we did not understand a word of what was said. We could only see how one of them took a piece of chalk and drew a large circle on the floor and told us to stand on the circle. Then another deputy placed a small sword on the table and a globe was hung on the side of the door of the meeting-hall. . . . Many of us on seeing the sword were not sure whether we were all going to be slaughtered or drafted into the army. . . . Only later . . . did some explain . . . that if any one of us broke the oath and became untrue to the interests of Labor, he would be pursued by the sword and would be unable to escape because the Knights were strong the world over."

Other groups, from reefer to corset makers in the variegated industry, were heartened by the success of their dress and cloak colleagues and began to set up unions of their own. All of them ran into trouble. Extremist factions warred constantly for their allegiance. In the mid-eighties Johann Most, fiery disciple of Bakunin's new Nihilism, established headquarters in New York City and published a charming little booklet entitled *Science of Revolutionary Warfare—a Manual of Instruction in the Use and Preparation of Nitroglycerine, Dynamite, Gun-Cotton, Fulminating Mercury, Bombs, Fuses, Poisons, Etc., Etc.* He was an eloquent man with black flowing hair and black bushy beard and the slogan of "Exterminate the miserable brood." His appearance and activities first gave to American cartoonists that stock-character, bearing the varied labels of any "subversive element" that has survived to the present day. He was the idol of various-revolutionary clubs in New York and Chicago. He preached the "creative joy of destruc-

tion." He prided himself upon being a "propagandist of the deed" and he believed that the adroit use of percussion-caps was the only method by which the workers could liberate themselves from the shackles of the "blood-suckers," the capitalists. He controlled the "International Workingmen's Association," which was a kind of central committee for anarchists in America. Whenever possible Most and his lieutenants would try to "bore from within" the nascent feeble unions in the garment trade, and as a rule turned them into debating clubs that displayed a high scorn for getting anything done and were soon wrecked by "ideological dissensions" between pro-Most and anti-Most factions. At the same time the Socialist Labor Party, guided by the magnificently handsome and brilliant orator, Daniel DeLeon, told the workers that they should join only the trade union branches of the S.L.P. which itself kept splitting off into splinter groups. Simultaneously, the A.F. of L. was battling the "blunderings" of the Knights of Labor who retorted in kind, while both sought the loyalty of newly organizing workers. The I.W.W. traveled to the Atlantic Seaboard to infuse the more effete Eastern wage-slaves with Western derring-do in the "war against capitalist oppressors." The I.W.W. denounced the A.F. of L. as the "American Bakunin of Labor" and Gompers as a "traitor to the working class" and tried to convince the bewildered garment workers that salvation lay only through adoption of the Wobbly platform. Along with such conflicting claims that set the head of the would-be unionist spinning around and around, were vast alterations in the industry itself that made him even dizzier. In the decade from 1890 to 1900 the number of establishments in the trade had increased 120 per cent, from 1224 to 2701 and the number of wage-earners 114 per cent or from 34,149 to 83,739.

Refinements in the sewing-machine and the steam pressing machine combined with more complex and intricate marketing methods to subdivide work more and more into a mass production diversity. Instead of being made by three or four workers, a garment now would pass through thirty or forty or even fifty different hands before completion. Hence "sub-contracting" within a shop began to appear. It was less a system for the division of labor than a kind of perpetual fission.

The owner, for example, would hire two or three pressers who would con-

tract to take care of all the pressing and who would in turn hire two or three or four of their own "sub-pressers" or "helpers" to do most of the work. A skirt-contractor would engage a dozen men who in turn would hire five or six assistants, each of whom had two or three "sub-assistants" until an arrangement of "sub-sub-sub-contracting" ensued. It created a hierarchy of its own, an endless chain of bantam-weight, light-weight, welter-weight, and heavy-weight bosses, all of whom were interested in keeping wages down.

International's Uphill Struggle

The International, from its beginnings in 1900, therefore faced an uphill struggle to achieve the primary objectives of unionism: a "living wage," "shorter hours," and "decent conditions." Its philosophy in theory was colored by its many Socialist sympathizers, and its first constitution, in its preamble, endorsed the "class struggle" and all its implications. The International's practice, however, was the pure pragmatism of Gompers, "all you can get, here and now." In fact it reflected the official A.F. of L. credo in almost every respect. It urged high dues to build a strong strike and out-of-work benefit treasury. It pinned high hopes on the use of the union label and the effectiveness of the boycott. It discouraged strikes, save as the ultra-last resort, and counseled mediation instead. At conventions it passed Socialist resolutions and then filed them away. Yet there was one vital difference between the International and the A.F. of L. The former believed in an industry-wide welding of all the workers, from well-paid cutter to poorly-paid "helper," into a single body; and it has always acted upon the assumption that both skilled and unskilled had a unity of interests that transcended the confines of occupation.

Hence the International, from its inception, has been a combination of both the craft and industrial types of unionism. And it has fashioned a successful formula for reconciling intra-union disputes over jurisdiction by setting up "joint boards" on which workers from every classification, within a given area, receive "proportional representation."*

Despite such feelings of mutual aid, of "one for all, and all for one," how-

* In this regard it is interesting to note that in recent "peace" talks between the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O., the International in its structural form has often been mentioned as furnishing, in microcosm, the model which organized labor in America may eventually adopt.

ever, the International in 1910, after a decade of often sacrificial effort, found itself unable to modify effectively the evils of a trade which was thriving upon the cheapness of its human labor. Union strategists at last concluded that the only way to correct abuses which were particularly vicious in New York City, would be the way of the general strike, which would close up every shop in the city "tight as a drum" and bring the employers to book altogether, and all at once. Experience had shown the International's chieftains that even when an employer did recognize the union, with its higher wage scales, he was placed more or less at the mercy of rivals who kept an open shop and who could cut prices at will, underselling his unionized competitor.

By talking up the "Great Event," the future general strike, as a quick bold method of improving conditions all along the line, union officials roused workers from their passive acceptance to a desire for action. And at the tenth convention of the International, 65 delegates by a 55 to 10 vote authorized the General Executive Board to issue the "call" whenever "advisable."

The Great Strike

It was a do or die decision. Advance preparations resembled in their magnitude, the planning of a major military operation. Weeks before the strike summons was issued, halls were hired for meetings, lawyers hired to fight court action and bookkeepers hired to supervise and allocate funds. To test the temper of the workers, the first labor meeting ever to be held in Madison Square Garden was arranged by the union's leaders on June 28, 1910. The response was overwhelming; the enthusiasm hysterical as thousands, unable to enter the jammed Garden, overflowed to nearby streets.

Suddenly and without warning at two o'clock on July 7, 1910, peak of the season, 60,000 garment workers quit. The 92 per cent of the industry centered in New York was utterly paralyzed by two-thirty. It was the greatest and most startling withdrawal of labor-power in American history. For caught up in the excitement of the occasion, non-union workers had also joined the marching multitude that surged towards meeting halls on lower Fifth Avenue, snarling traffic for block after block, south and west and east of the Union Square area.

It was a bitter and long-lasting combat that nearly ruined both sides. Employers lost millions. Workers suffered

from a siege of semi-starvation as scanty reserves vanished and breakfast, dinner, and supper was one slice of black bread and one cup of tea. After nearly two months, when both owners and workers had attained a state of exhaustion, a settlement was reached between the International and the Cloak, Suit, and Shirt Manufacturers Protective Association. It was called the "Protocol of Peace." Despite its high-falutin' name, with its Eastern European flavor, it was really a genus of the collective agreement species, but of a special kind. It was animated by a new spirit of industrial relations injected into it by Louis Dembitz Brandeis who had acted as impartial chairman for the negotiations at the suggestion of A. L. Filene, Boston dry-goods merchant who was morally and financially disturbed by the causes and consequences of this general strike.

The "protocol" while specifying wages, hours and "shop rules" differed drastically from similar pacts. It had no time limit, and could be terminated by either side by simply "giving notice." It was a "treaty of peace" founded purely upon the good-will of its signatories. It created a brand new body in American industrial life, a "Joint Board" of sanitary control to remedy health hazards. It set up a Committee of Grievances to handle minor frictions and a Board of Arbitration to "consist of one nominee of the manufacturers, one of the unions, and one of the public."

The features of this last proposal were the "invention" of Brandeis who believed that industrial conflict could be resolved by brain-power instead of by force, and who also introduced the idea of the "public," as both victim or beneficiary in the processes of production.

Both manufacturers and workers accepted this viewpoint with reservations of their own. The former adopted the protocol mainly as a mechanism for equalizing labor costs and thus rendering competition less jugular. The latter ratified it only as a compromise when their resources had been drained to the last dime and they knew that they could hold out no longer. Union sachems like Rosenberg, then president of the International, were conditioned by Marxist thinking and were reluctant to swallow the thought of "common interests" and "cooperation" among employer and employee. They were thinking in terms of class struggle not in terms of collaboration. Many on both sides regarded the protocol as

a muddling makeshift and at first it almost failed to function. Like foremen in motor plants of a later day, the petty bosses in the women's garment trade couldn't get used to the thought that they could no longer hire and fire at will or whim and exact graft, favors, tribute, and generally throw their weight around. The workers, still influenced by the idea that unionism and strike were somehow synonymous, were angry that under the terms of the protocol they had given up the right to strike and were compelled to abide by rulings of the Board of Arbitration as "final and conclusive." Yet the protocol, despite countless moves to call the whole thing off, justified itself. It worked. Law and constitutional procedure replaced the arbitrary exercise of authority on the owner's part and resentful retaliation by the worker.

Internal Strife

The essential principles of "protocolism," despite many variations in detail and even more temporary setbacks, have remained to dominate the union's attitude to the present day. Before the efficacy of this approach was vindicated, however, the International was subjected to a vicious internal strife that almost destroyed it.

For in August 1920 the Red Labor Union was organized in Moscow for the purpose of taking over the labor movements of the Western World. Its 21 point program declared, among other things, that it would be at once "necessary to establish Communist nuclei" in all such labor bodies. In America, the Trade Union Educational League, formed by William Z. Foster, was the lever by which the Communists sought to gain control of the A. F. of L. At the outset of this campaign, the units of the International were chosen as the most fertile and promising fields for sowing discontent. Its ranks contained numerous Russian and Polish Jews, ecstatic over the abolition of Czardom, who would be, it was thought, emotionally receptive to salvation by the Soviet.

Meantime, the International was riding high. It was at a new top of potency and prestige, with 3900 agreements covering 170,000 members, mainly as the result of the World War boom. At its convention in the summer of 1920, there was much exuberant talk about a greater "voice in management," about "industrial democracy." It was the bright clear day before the deluge. The post-armistice depression, commencing in the fall of 1920,

swarmed down over the country like a plague of locusts. In the women's garment trade, hundreds of firms folded as retailers canceled orders by wire and special delivery. Other employers desperately tried to save themselves by slashing wages to keep their share of a dwindling market. Agreements with the unions were revised, tacitly ignored, openly abrogated. In the retrenchments of panic, thousands of garment workers were laid off. In New York, Chicago, Baltimore, Boston, Cleveland, Toledo, Toronto, great strikes to maintain operating pacts with management proved mainly abortive. The workers were baffled, and discouraged by an experience the more demoralizing for its contrast with the halcyon days of a few short months before.

At this juncture, Mr. Foster and aides made an entrance onto the International's stage, an appearance exquisitely timed to the cue of the workers' general resentment. He was, and is, the most gifted organizer, *per se*, in the United States. And for three years as the depression deepened he exercised his talents to such good effect that in 1924 the Communists ruled the important Joint Board of the Cloak Makers Union and had made appreciable inroads elsewhere, concentrating all his forces in New York City. Group after group succumbed to his persuasions. The only local that like a Praetorian Guard stood out against this Communist invasion was the powerful Cutter Union No. 10, oldest in the International. It was managed by a dynamic resourceful, thirty-two year old Polish-born Jew, David Dubinsky. To people who had known him in the old country his anti-Communist activity seemed like a complete *volte face*. From his early youth he had been a firebrand in Poland's trade union branch of the revolutionary "Bund," a kind of Jewish Sinn Fein. At seventeen he had been left-wing leader of a bakers' union which conducted a strike against his own father, who owned one of the largest bakeries in Lodz. And at twenty Dubinsky's sons had been sentenced to serve a prison term in Siberia for making an "incendiary" speech.

David Dubinsky Enters

He had come to the United States in 1911, still brimming over with radical ardor, settling in New York. By day he learned the cutter's trade, and he studied by night. And he was very soon "Americanized." He arrived at the conclusion that unions in

this country, by the nature of American society, couldn't get very far by relying only upon Marxist syllogisms. He had quickly acquired a key position in the Cutters Union by the tactics of the typical "go-getter." He is today in fact less a labor leader in the customary usage of the term, than an efficiency expert with an accountancy neurosis. As manager of the Cutters No. 10 he handled the local's finances with what amounted to a kind of wizardry. If he couldn't raise enough money through dues, he would invent special drives for "Old Age Funds" and the like to keep the union's coffers full against a rainy day. Colleagues derided him humorously as a "miser," as "Mr. Morgan," but forked over for the 57 varieties of special assessments that his ingenuity devised. By such means he built up a credit standing that is rare, if not unique, among American labor leaders. From his earliest days he could always swing a substantial loan with no other collateral than his reputation for being able to get money "out of the air."

It has been his financial acumen, rather than anything else, that explains his rapid rise to the presidency of the International, a post to which he was elected by acclamation in 1932.

For when in 1926 the Communists under Foster called a strike that ended in a shattering defeat for the International, in wage-losses of \$3,500,000 and otherwise, the only local which was solvent was Dubinsky's No. 10. He transformed it into a kind of first-aid society, helping other International affiliates to get back on their feet again, to maintain offices and morale. He and his Cutters also functioned as an anti-Communist brigade, arousing antagonism against a leadership which, in their phrase, "had used the workers as a cat's paw for Moscow politics," and ousting Foster's surrogates from positions of influence and trust.

After the NRA

When the Supreme Court abolished NRA codes in 1935, Dubinsky worked for weeks with the manufacturers of the cloak and suit industry to devise an elaborate system that has, at its hub, a voluntary "Recovery Board" which maintains standards generally better than the minima set by the Blue Eagle. Under his leadership of labor in the nation's fifth industry with its \$1,325,000,000 production in 1936, the International has 8,550 agreements with firms in the United States and Canada, 7,230 of which are covered by contracts with 62 employers associa-

tions and 1320 by independent pacts. Out of a potential strength of 345,000, the International has 260,000 members divided as follows:

PER CENT UNIONIZED	BRANCH OF INDUSTRY	NUMBER OF WORKERS PER SHOP	AVERAGE
90%	Blouses	28.5	
80%	Children's Outerwear	35.0	
97%	Coats, Suits and Separate Skirts	19.0	
95%	Dresses	37.8	
97%	Corsets and Aligned Garments	64.9	
80%	Infants' Wear	25.3	
50%	Knitted Outerwear	46.8	
50%	Knitted Underwear	187.8	
75%	Underwear and Nightwear	47.7	
40%	Cotton Garments	125.4	

They pay dues amounting to a million and a half annually; and at Dubinsky's insistence 15 Certified Public Accountants travel the year round out of National Headquarters, going from local to local in 52 cities to keep track of just where the money goes, and why, and otherwise to improve the quality of the union's arithmetic. Work or no work, dues have to be paid. And except for 4 per cent in mining districts where the traditions of the check-off are tenacious, all International adherents pay on a voluntary basis, a technique employed to stress to the workers that "it's up them" to share in the burdens and benefits of the union, and similarly to strengthen their sense of personal participation, the International's press is edited to and for them by the brilliant union publicist Max D. Danish. The official monthly, *Justice*, printed in English, is read by 170,000 members who subscribe to it in preference to other language publications such as the Yiddish journal *Gerechtigkeit* read by 35,000, the Italian *Giustizia* with a circulation of 45,000, a Spanish and a French edition of *Justice* read by 10,000 apiece.

Extra-Curricular Activities

And in this regard it is important to observe that about half of the International's time and energy are expended in "extra-curricular" activities that tend to make its own brand of unionism less a bargaining agency than a "way of life."

Its educational department, for example, with branches all over the country, and which includes a "cul-

tural and recreation" division is far and away the best of its kind in the world. It is the pet project of thoughtful, handsome Julius Hochman, vice-president of the International, who sees to it that funds are never lacking for this enterprise. Under the direction of Mark Starr, veteran of the British Labor Movement, and Fannie M. Cohen, famed anti-sweat shop crusader, the department conducts study classes in English, Parliamentary Law, Current Events, American History, Labor Problems, Training for Union Service, and so forth. Lecturers of national repute address its forums. It has a varied athletic program of baseball, basketball, bowling and soccer with teams drawn from all its affiliates. It gives instruction in music and has set up 40 of its own bands, orchestras and choral societies. It teaches dancing whether "tap," "ballroom," or "interpretive." It presents operas like *Aida* with its own cast. It gives free showings of the better movies like *Zola*, the French *Carnival in Flanders*, the Russian *Baltic Deputy*. On its own "Labor Stage" in New York City, it first produces plays like John Wexley's *Steel*, and presents musical comedies like *Pins and Needles*. It arranges exhibits for the paintings of both W.P.A. and private artists. It schedules picnics and outings in the country in the summer and dances in the winter. Its "handbooks" of union tactics and songs have been adopted, with slight changes, by the newer unions in motors, rubber, radio, and steel. It grants scholarships to promising students at Bryn Mawr, at Wisconsin, at Brookwood Labor College.

The International is also constantly concerned with the physical well-being of its members, organizing the Union Health Center, in New York City, in 1913. It is the biggest clinic of its sort in the country, staffed by some 16 doctors and 4 dentists, some of whom, like Dr. George M. Price, Director, have done notable research in the relation of work conditions to health. About 90,000 International members use the Union Health Clinic every year for everything from curing a cold to getting a cardiograph, receiving excellent medical care at about one quarter of the cost anywhere else, for the International underwrites whatever budget the Health Center needs.

Some years ago the International purchased for \$500,000 the 1000 acre estate of a New York multi-millionaire in the Pocono Hills, Forest Park, Pennsylvania. The union has changed this

property into a vacation resort for its members and the members of other labor groups. The main house and adjoining cottages accommodate 1000 guests. For \$19.00 a week and a union card, you can spend as much time as you please at this "Unity House," play tennis, go boating, swim, ride horseback or what have you. The rooms are definitely on the luxurious side, and the cuisine is of a sort for which most of

latter and contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to C.I.O. drives in steel and textiles. Yet Dubinsky, as spokesman for his union, wants peace, the sooner the better, and he has waved the olive branch on every possible occasion. For one thing he believes that only a unified labor movement can help to build that new political alignment which will carry forward implications of the New Deal. Any such



WHEN THE BLUE EAGLE DIED: This was the interpretation given to the passing of the NRA in a cartoon which appeared in a publication of the ILGWU.

us would have to pay several times over \$19.00 a week.

In addition to taking care of its own, the International, under Dubinsky, has acted on the premise that labor, instead of being at any time an object of charity, should stand on its own feet, and be able to contribute to the welfare of others, thus increasing its own self-respect and fulfilling its obligations to the community at large. Hence among the union's disbursements you find such items as "American Red Cross for Drought and Flood Victims, \$10,000," the "Los Angeles Sanitarium, \$7500." And among its investments you will find \$100,000 worth of bonds in New York's World Fair Corporation to help the city make this giant undertaking a genuine success.

In the present A.F.L.-C.I.O. fracas the International has lined up with the

party, he insists, must not only be built up "from the grass roots of a state-wide basis first," but must also not be a strictly labor or class party and must "make ample room for all liberal and progressive groups, wage-earners along with the white-collar people of our middle classes and . . . all other gainfully employed citizens."

But he is daily plugging to achieve a united labor movement for a more important reason. He is convinced that the "wide participation in the aims and objectives of industry by responsible, constructive unions" alone can insure greater stability to American society as it moves inexorably towards a future "planned economy" which, he thinks, may even "place the unions in a position of leadership alongside of management," with government helping both.

CURRENT HISTORY IN THE WORLD OF THE ARTS

V. F. CALVERTON

Cultural Barometer

CONFLICTS between artists and their patrons have been notorious through the ages, and the odd aspect of it all is that they continue just as actively today even though the degrading and humiliating system of patronage is now a matter of historical recollection. In the remote ancient days of Phidias, in the exciting post-medieval days of Michelangelo, when the arts were being born full-grown, to a stature they have never achieved since, the conflicts were different in detail but not in substance. No battle which Michelangelo waged with the popes was any more exciting or melodramatic, even in Vasari's telling, than the one Diego Rivera waged with the Rockefellers in 1933 or the one Rockwell Kent has waged recently with the Post Office officials over his Puerto Rico mural.

The curious thing is that such battles are seldom about technical proficiency but about social concepts: differences in emphasis, interpretation, purpose. In each case the person (or entity) paying the bill, who today is no longer a patron but an employer, wants something that the artist will not provide or doesn't want something that the artist has provided. During the last two hundred years such conflicts have been less challenging and less crucial because artists have been more concerned with the "how," that is with the technique, of art than with the "what" of it, that is its substance, message, meaning.

It has been only in post-war years, when artists the world over have become socially-minded again, as they were in the olden days, that such conflicts have become public issues. Michelangelo had no conflicts on that score. He had the Biblical *mythos*, with its creative and mystical concepts to give form to; he believed in it; the popes believed in it; the majority of the people of his time believed in it. The "what" of his art, therefore, was provided for him. It was only with the "how" that he had to be concerned. With the rise of Protestantism, however, and the break up of the Biblical

mythos into divers sections and segments, with individuals exalted as more important than institutions, and the individual and not social authority extolled as the final test of truth, art changed in direction and emphasis. The artist from that time on spent more of his time trying to decide "what" he would paint than "how" he would paint it; the result was that art during the last few hundred years became so individualistic that during the twenties, when it was in its ultramodernist phase, it became so individualistic that only the individual artist knew what he had painted. This development reached its final extreme in the late twenties when a picture of a horse was portrayed in a painting featured in one of America's leading esthetic magazines, with the title beneath it: "The Violin." What the artist was really trying to say, to do justice to his aim, was that when he thought of a violin he saw the figure of a horse. Artists boldly declared in those days that their purpose was "to express" and not "to communicate." They were more interested in *expressing* their *selves*, even if no one but themselves understood them, than they were in *communicating* their *selves* to others.

The thirties rendered that form of modernism passé. Art in the thirties returned to its older forms. It disengaged itself of its ultra-individualistic, anarchistic modernisms and became concerned with communication as well as expression. And, what is more, it began to develop an interest in social content. Many artists in the twenties, of course, had taken their stand on the side of "social art" but it was not until the thirties that their influence became internationally dominant. It was after the expressionists, cubists, vorticists, and what not had lost their influence that the names of Rivera, Orozco, Grosz, Benton, Curry, Wood, and others attained their widespread and highly deserved recognition and fame.

Most of these painters focussed their attention upon society rather than the individual and their works as a result attained interpretive signifi-

cance sociologically as well as esthetically. Rockefeller's quarrel with Rivera was not with the design or even the concept of his mural; the quarrel resulted from Rivera's insistence upon including the head of Lenin in the work which otherwise would have proved acceptable to the Radio City magnate. The inclusion of the head of Lenin was significant to Rivera because he is a communist and his murals in Mexico as well as the United States are dedicated to interpreting society in communist terms. In the more recent case of Rockwell Kent versus the Post Office officials the conflict is similar although the issue at stake revolves about a letter instead of a head.

The letter in question is in Eskimo dialect, and reads as follows:

Puerto-Ricomiunun Ilapticnum! Ke
Ha Chimmeulakut Engayscaacut,
Amna Ketchimmi Attunum Chuli
Waptictum Itticleoraatigut!

Translated into English, it states:

To the peoples of Puerto Rico, our friends: Go ahead, let us change chiefs. That alone can make us equal and free.

The letter itself, as drawn in the mural, is so small, and the words themselves so microscopical, that no one at first paid any attention to it until a reporter copied down the words verbatim and then proceeded to have them translated. Since that time, the Kent case has attracted world-wide attention. The mural in which the letter appears is one of two adjoining murals and can be understood only in relationship with the other mural. Rockwell Kent describes the murals and the relevance of the letter in the following words:

On Saturday, September 4th, two paintings measuring 6 feet 6 inches by 13 feet each, were mounted in one of the corridors of the Federal Post Office building in Washington. One of the paintings was an arctic scene, and showed groups of Eskimos attending the departure of an airmail plane: there were reindeer and dog sledges laden with mail. The other scene was tropical. Its foreground was a level, sandy floor. Beyond this stretched the ocean. Groups of Negro figures

were shown either waving farewell to a departing seaplane, carrying sacks of mail up the embankment of the shore, or showing eager light-hearted excitement over a letter that presumably had just been received. A mail carrier, white, occupied the central, dominating position of the picture. He was mounted on horseback.

The group whose interest was centered on the letter consisted entirely of women. One, presumably the recipient of the letter, held it playfully away from the importunate curiosity of the others. As she held it, its text was clearly readable to any spectator of the picture who might have the curiosity to approach close enough to read its normal script. . . . In the picture, the letter occupied so relatively small and inconspicuous an area, that of the many people—several of them officials or employees of the Treasury Department's Procurement Division which had sponsored the paintings—few even looked closely enough to see the writing, and none spoke of it. Not even when, on that same Saturday, the paintings were illuminated by floodlights for the taking of the official photographs, did anyone concern himself with the text of the letter.

The repercussions of the conflict soon became international. European as well as American newspapers featured the dispute, wrote editorials about it, and in Puerto Rico itself politicians became enraged and delivered themselves of oratorical salvos of attack upon the mural. Rafael Martinez Nadal, president of the Puerto Rican Senate declared the mural "an insult" and urged that "it must be wiped out," and Senor Santiago Iglesias, resident commissioner of Puerto Rico, described it as "perverse propaganda against our country."

In a fusillade of letters, one sharper than another, Mr. Kent explained that all he wanted the message to express was "that belief in liberty and equality which, beginning as a cardinal doctrine of our Declaration of Independence, has come to be held to be the very keynote of American social ideals." He even offered to substitute other messages for the one now in the mural. Among such suggestions which he made were the following:

To the people of Puerto Rico, our brethren: Let us in the spirit of America fight for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

To the people of Puerto Rico: our friends: We are told that you want equality and freedom. We people of the Far North wish you success.

To the people of Puerto Rico, our friends: Success to you in your fight for freedom, for freedom is a tradition of our country.

On every side, however, he declares

in an article in *The New Masses*, he has been blocked, and it looks as if his murals may share the same fate of the ill-fated Rivera mural at Rockefeller Center. Rivera, however, it should be noted, succeeded in reproducing the same mural in Mexico, where it can now be seen in the National Arts building in Mexico City.

Bentonian Realism

Both Rivera and Kent represent revolt against the French tradition in art, and in their stress upon realism they have sought to get at the core of life in their work. The American artist who has gotten closest to the realism

lace. No one has captured their faces, caught their gestures, made them so completely alive, as Benton in his drawings, easel-paintings, and murals. He urges all artists who would understand America to go back to the soil, to go back to the roots of the land.

"In the great cities fewer and fewer escape the pressures of one convention or another," he declares, "as these conventions, by their very isolated nature, do not reflect America, they work against the development of distinctively American forms. The interest in schools and museums in the smaller cities and towns indicates increasing tendencies to encourage such arts and,



MESSAGE IN A MURAL: The precise center of Rockwell Kent's new Post Office Department Building mural contains a letter from the people of Alaska to their American Brethren in Puerto Rico. It says, "Go ahead. Let us change chiefs. That alone can make us equal and free."

of American life, however, is Thomas Benton, a mid-westerner, who has dedicated his genius to a rediscovery of the United States in art form. No painter among us has concerned himself as much with American life in its most simple and significant forms. An enemy of the French modernists, an enemy of all abstractionists in painting, Benton has gone up and down the land, studying the country which is America and the people that are American, in an attempt to depict them as they really are, without camouflage, without embellishment. Convinced that large cities represent death, and that we must return to the smaller places, the minor cities, the sprouting towns, the growing villages, if we want to understand America, Mr. Benton has gone back to the mid-west and has concentrated his attentions upon the humbler folk who constitute its popu-

lance. No one has captured their faces, caught their gestures, made them so completely alive, as Benton in his drawings, easel-paintings, and murals. He urges all artists who would understand America to go back to the soil, to go back to the roots of the land.

though they are subject, as yet, to many drawbacks and may be subject to many more, they hold one great promise. This is a great promise for American art. In those outlying places of the great rivers and fields which, in the self-satisfied vanities of the great cities, are regarded as the abodes of hicks and stuffed shirts, the promise of an artistic future seems to lie. The great cities are dead. They offer nothing but coffins for living and thinking."

Benton wants to encourage American forms of art, forms indigenous to the country itself, and he believes that those forms can develop only when American artists focus their eyes upon the people and scenery before them and divorce themselves from the aesthetic theories of Europe. Benton's own achievement in that respect augurs well for what might be accomplished by others who follow his path. His

farmers, his shipyard workers, his cotton-hands, all the folk who have come to life by means of his brush, have the look, the smell, the touch of the land about them. They are indubitably American.

An Artistic Renaissance

Part of the proof of Benton's prophecy is to be seen in the amazing work of Grant Wood and John Steuart Curry, two mid-Westerners, who belong in the Benton tradition although both of them are significant artists in their own right and reflect the influence of the country rather than that of

When we remember that not much more than a century ago a New England writer could declare that "The Plowman who raiseth grain is more serviceable to Mankind than the Painter who draws only to please the eye" and that not much more than a generation ago Thomas Benton's father "was profoundly prejudiced against artists" because artists were considered the ambassadors of idleness and iniquity, we can see what a far distance this country has advanced in its art interests and appreciations to date.

In Maine today, for example, the University of Maine has just completed



CITY LIFE: This canvas is one example of Thomas Benton's vivid realism in depicting American life.

an individual. Curry is now doing a series of murals for the State Capitol buildings in Kansas which will attempt to trace the history of the State through its divers vicissitudes of evolution. Subjects to be portrayed on the murals will deal with the pioneers who settled the State, with the great cattle drives, the coming of the railroads, the Indians, corn and wheat harvests, John Brown, and other individuals and influences which have helped shape the character of the State. "In great measure," Mr. Curry says, describing what his murals seek to do, "it is the historical struggle of man with nature. This struggle has been a determining factor in my art expression. It is my family's tradition and the tradition of a great number of Kansas people."

Interestingly enough, as evidence of the growing art-consciousness of the midwest, the money for these murals (\$20,000) is to be raised by popular subscription.

the construction of a new art gallery, and, what is more important, has made arrangements for the circulation of pictures among the fraternities and other organizations throughout the State. In its effort to "stimulate a State-wide interest in art and to broaden the cultural background of the average Maine citizen," the University has already been circulating a travelling collection of colored reproductions of famous paintings among the schools and clubs in the State.

New Developments in the Theatre

Although announcement has been made that the W. P. A. Federal Theatre is faced with dissolution, because the Government has refused to subsidize it any longer, the excellent work which the Theatre has done in encouraging interest in the stage continues to challenge the attention of the public. It is most unfortunate that the Government

in its slicing of expenditures had to let the Federal Theatre fall "under its axe," for no W. P. A. activity undertaken has been more beneficial to the public than that provided by the W. P. A. mummers who revived interest in the stage in every part of this nation, in villages and hamlets as well as in towns and cities.

Part of the most interesting work carried on by the Federal Theatre Project has been strictly educational. In addition to its own work in the field, it has organized a National Service Bureau, which purposes to act as "adviser-extraordinary" to the 50,000 amateur dramatic groups over the country. Already it has published a descriptive list of 1314 plays "for every taste, every purse, and every occasion."

In addition, the Project has encouraged W. P. A. dramatists to write plays about such themes as "child welfare, youth, peace, and housing" and also plays on health and safety for children's audiences. Most of these plays are one-acters, designed not "merely for entertainment" but for instruction and challenge. These plays have "a purpose," Mr. Fishel, head of the playwriting section of the Project, declares. "They teach. The Federal Theatre, in my opinion, has opened a significant chapter in the development of American drama and education." Among such plays are anti-lynching ones, anti-saloon ones, scientific ones (used very often by the schools in the teaching of science), Easter plays, English miracle and morality ones, rural plays, children's operettas, Spanish plays, Irish plays, and any number of vaudevillian and musical skits.

In Soviet Russia, the fifth Theatre Festival has just been celebrated amid all the flash and fanfare with which the Russians always accompany such occasions. The performances include folk music and plays from all the various republics of the Soviet Union and a series of dramas, classical and modern, among which were Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*, Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*, Pushkin's *Boris Godunov*, Trenoff's *Lyuboff Yarovaya*, Gueff's *Fame*, and Pafodin's *Aristocrats*. The ballet which was featured was *Sleeping Beauty* by Tchaikowsky, which not many years ago was out of favor in the Soviet musical and theatrical world but who now is conspicuous on every program. The festival is being celebrated also in the Ukraine, where in the theatres in Kharkov, Kiev, and Rostov-on-Don many of the same plays will be produced.

Realm of Science

ONE third of all the deaths in America are due to three classes of diseases which have their inception in high blood-pressure. The three are heart disease, kidney disease, and cerebral hemorrhage or "stroke." High blood pressure—the medical man calls it "essential hypertension"—leads to hardening of the arteries or arteriosclerosis. The last chapter depends upon where the arteries first give way—in the heart, in the kidneys, or in the brain.

Essential hypertension and the diseases to which it leads occupied much of the time of the Tenth Annual Graduate Fortnight recently held by the New York Academy of Medicine. Experts from all parts of the country were gathered for this series of meetings.

One of the debated questions is whether essential hypertension is a "disease of civilization," the result of the wear and tear of nerves brought on by the frantic tempo of modern life. Some medical men think that this is the case and that the way to avoid high blood-pressure is to learn to "take it easy."

This phase of the subject was discussed before the assembled doctors by Dr. Karl A. Menninger, famous American psychiatrist. Dr. Menninger expressed the opinion that to determine whether nervous tension led to high blood pressure or vice versa might be like trying to decide which came first, the chicken or the egg. The important thing, he said, was to recognize that high blood pressure was accompanied by nervous symptoms which the physician needed to take into consideration in arranging the treatment of the patient.

In studying the problem we are faced by three pertinent facts, according to Dr. Menninger. One is that a transient rise in blood pressure may be induced in normal persons by emotional stimulation. In such people, however, the pressure quickly returns to normal.

The second important fact is that some persons suffering from high blood pressure are also found to be suffering from abnormal emotional conditions. The third is that chronic high blood pressure can be reduced in some cases by various procedures essentially psychological in nature.

Recent studies, he continued, have

demonstrated that an undercurrent of fear frequently exists in the psychology of persons suffering from essential hypertension.

"Patients with hypertension are characterized by an external poise, often gentleness and amiability, beneath which there exists a strong undercurrent of fear which arises from the existence of strongly repressed aggressions, usually threats to the patient's security," he said.

Explaining this statement at greater length, he said that hypertension might be expected in a patient whose early childhood was threatened by poverty, death, or disaster whereby he was forced into a premature self-reliance. This self-reliance shows itself in later life in more or less external success, but there is a constant internal anxiety set up by actual or fantasized threats to his security.

Psychiatric treatment which reduces this nervous tension has proved to be a valuable aid in the treatment of chronic high blood-pressure, he added.

The Experimental Approach

Other speakers before the New York Academy of Medicine included Dr. Harry Goldblatt, associate director of the Institute of Pathology of the Western Reserve University School of Medicine, Cleveland.

Dr. Goldblatt is the first scientist to produce a continued high blood pressure in experimental animals. He accomplished this by reducing the blood supply of the kidneys. This condition, known as renal ischemia, leads to chronic high blood pressure and in some organs to the degenerative changes in the blood vessels which are characteristic of hardening of the arteries. He devised a tiny silver clamp for restricting the blood supply to the kidneys.

In recent experiments, Dr. Goldblatt has shown that the adrenals, the two tiny triangular ductless glands which are perched one on each kidney, are also concerned in the phenomenon in some way that is not yet entirely understood. He found that if the adrenal glands were removed, the animals did not develop high blood-pressure when the blood supply to the kidneys was reduced. In still other experiments, he demonstrated that once high blood

pressure was established, operations upon the sympathetic nervous system would not cure it.

Scientists regard his experiments as the most important in the field to date although it is yet much too early to say what their eventual results may be.

Liver Extract and Pellagra

Advanced cases of pellagra have been treated successfully with a form of liver extract at Duke Hospital in Durham, N. C., Dr. David T. Smith of the Department of Medicine of Duke University told the American Dietetic Association. Apparently it is not the factor in liver which cures pernicious anemia which does the trick but some other factor, he said.

Recently it was announced that success had been obtained in treating pellagra with nicotinic acid and that this acid in all probability is one of the factors composing the so-called Vitamin B₂ complex, namely the anti-pellagra factor.

Between 1905 and 1915, pellagra was found to be widespread in the southern part of the United States. Dr. Joseph Goldberger of the U. S. Public Health Service established that the disease was due to a vitamin deficiency. Its victims were extremely poor, living on a diet consisting almost exclusively of corn bread and molasses.

Dr. Smith said that five years' experience at Duke University had shown that yeast was an effective treatment in the early stages of the disease but not in the advanced stages.

Acute constitutional symptoms which resemble those of an infection are due in most instances to an unknown toxic substance produced in the skin by the direct action of sunlight, he said. Victims must be protected from the sunlight until they have had proper dietary treatment.

Phosphorus Is Required

A warning against permitting the soil of the United States to become deficient in phosphorus is sounded by David E. Lilienthal, director of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Growing plants absorb phosphorus from the soil. This must be replaced, says Mr. Lilienthal, who points out that the TVA has launched a campaign to educate farmers to this important fact.

Highlights of the Law

GUERRA EVERETT

THE first session of the 75th Congress wrestled with 11,337 bills and 514 joint resolutions. Seventy-four of the latter and 822 of the former were landed in the statute books, but you should have seen some of those that got away.

Of course, if we turn a Socratic spotlight on the statistic 822, about half (407) fades into the shadows as "private" law; of the remaining public laws a great many are amendments to Federal administrative services, routine appropriations, and other special instances which affect the public only indirectly. That still leaves a substantial increment of new direct laws. Leo G. Koepfle of the Department of Commerce has summarized those which affect commerce, and since commerce affects everybody, perusal of this summary would profit him who runs or rides as he reads. Among the subjects are soft coal, sugar, price maintenance, agricultural marketing agreements, foreign trade agreements, neutrality, cotton classification, crops, taxes, and others of interest to the people at large.

International Rendition

Congress is beginning its labors again. Between the Acts, there is time to step out for a breath of fresh ozone and a look around to see what is going on in the everyday life of the law. Easily the most arresting case of recent weeks is the proceeding for the extradition of the former President of Cuba, long a patient in a New York hospital. This interest is due partly to the prominence of the defendant, but mostly to the fact that few lawyers have had occasion to participate in cases of extradition.

In the instant case defendant was served with a warrant of arrest on the mere request and unsubstantiated charge of the Cuban Government, which sought his return to Havana to stand trial for crimes alleged to have been committed before he was deposed as President. The defendant's attorney appeared before the United States Commissioner (who sits as a committing magistrate) and moved for the dismissal of the warrant. No one representing the Cuban Government was present; nevertheless the Commissioner denied the motion and ruled that defendant must be arraigned at his hos-

pital forthwith. One of the odd things about extradition is that there is no appeal. However, that brightest jewel of English justice, the writ of habeas corpus, knows few insurmountable barriers, and an application for the writ was made to Federal Judge John C. Knox (based probably on the ground that defendant was a fugitive, not from Justice, but from Politics, and further that no evidence had been presented or could at the time be presented against him). Judge Knox, widely experienced in these matters, denied the writ, thus upholding the Commissioner's ruling that Cuba had, under the treaty, two months to produce its evidence.

The inexorable nature of the proceeding, which leaves little room for exhibiting the quality of mercy, has not suffered amelioration since the days when the defendant was in power and made such requisitions himself. One such case which aroused wide interest at the time was the arrest, pursuant to telegraphic request from Havana, of a young Cuban Negro prizefighter, then a great favorite in New York. He was taken into custody the day on which he was going to box at the Garden for a great charity event. His widely advertised participation was the chief drawing card. Moreover, his arrest portended ruin for his reputation and repudiation for valuable matches. At once the representatives and counsel of the charity, the arena, the pugilist's manager, and influential friends descended on Commissioner Cotter, who ruled that he had to hold the prisoner for sixty days against the receipt of the substantiating documents from Cuba. Counsel then asked that the prisoner be released in custody of a marshal for the fight, at least, urging the public interest in the charity. Counsel for the Cuban Government averred that he had no objection, but did not think it lawful. The opinion in camera of Judge Knox was sought, and he ruled that there was no precedent for bail or similar relief from incarceration in extradition cases, except (as in the more recent case) when defendant was hospitalized.

Extradition treaties developed slowly. Until recently Honduras had no treaty with us, and malefactors of great or little wealth found asylum there and

sometimes a sort of anonymous fame as well, as O. Henry or Jack London characters. In the early days we obtained the return of fugitives as an act of grace from some countries. This was sometimes slightly embarrassing, as when our Minister to Roumania was instructed to request the return of a murderer and to advise the Roumanian Government, at the same time, that because of constitutional obstacles our Government could not offer to reciprocate in a like case, the several States claiming jurisdiction. A sensational case in 1913 spurred the work of treaty-making. An American residing in Italy atrociously murdered his wife there and escaped to the United States. Italy asked for his return, although Italy would not have consented to extradite an Italian for a crime committed abroad. When he was eventually extradited, public opinion compelled the adoption of the principle that we would not extradite Americans, but would bring them to trial here as best we could. Many treaties also provide that extradition will be denied where the penalty exacted may be death, and almost all expressly except political crimes and make the harboring country absolute judge of whether the crimes charged are in truth politically inspired.

Gentlemen of the Jury

Brazil, whose Constitution of two years ago was hailed as an instrument of greatest significance, now has a new one establishing a form of totalitarian state and, among other things, abolishing the distinction between federal and state court systems. The dictator evidently feels that he has the courts with him, but no chances are to be taken with the juries. The new procedural law will make juries liable to prosecution for perjury when the trial judge thinks that it has rendered a verdict contrary to the evidence. The justification of this new doctrine is that it will make jurymen more alert. These foreign notions make us either laugh or swell with pride over our own incomparable jury system. It is disconcerting to read that the machinery of justice stopped in Kansas City the other day "while authorities rooted out a jury summons racket in which chances to sit as a juror at \$3 a day were sold in a tavern for \$1 each."

The Religious Horizon

AS THIS article is written, General Erich Ludendorf, German War Commander, is believed to be dying in a Catholic hospital. He is suffering from the same type of bladder complaint that caused the death of President Paul von Hindenburg.

General Ludendorf has been one of the staunchest advocates of the Tannenberg League, a neo-pagan, anti-Christian, anti-Semitic group. The Ludendorf Publishing House has sold numerous treatises against Catholicism, Judaism, Freemasonry, and other "supernatural powers inimical to the Reich." So great has been his enthusiasm for the new "German God Concept" that, despite his part in the 1923 putsch, the General has been estranged from Chancellor Hitler.

And now, as he lies dying, Catholic Sisters of Charity are caring for him in a Catholic nursing home.

Germany's "religious warfare" is making tremendous inroads in national unity, according to what the *New York Times* calls the "desperate petition" sent to Chancellor Hitler by the chaplains of the armed forces. The text of this petition indicates that the Nazi attacks on Christianity are becoming a threat to the National Socialist regime. The letter points out to the Fuehrer that public confidence in all official announcements is endangered by the failure of the government to keep its promises with regard to the "secure protection" promised to the Churches in the official declaration of the Reich government on Feb. 1, 1933. The chaplains boldly contradict the official declarations that the National Socialist State and party are not carrying on an anti-Christian campaign. The Protestant part of the German population knows how false are the charges against pastors and laymen who have been arrested. Catholics likewise know how their priests and religious are being maligned. As a result, the chaplains declare, half the population (those in accord with the Nazi program) believe everything that the government says, and the other half (those who seek to maintain their former religious status) believe nothing that comes from the government.

Such a statement, from an official source, would seem to indicate that

Germany is really in the midst of a religious war which, if not settled soon, may cause the downfall of National Socialism.

"House of the Bible"

The "House of the Bible" at the Paris Exhibition was visited daily from 10 a.m. to nearly midnight by an amazingly large number of people, civilians and soldiers, young people and old, standing patiently waiting their turn (according to a dispatch from the International Christian Press and Information Service, Geneva). Some 28,000 Bibles, New Testaments, and Gospels have been distributed since the pavilion was opened. French, English, and German editions were naturally in greatest demand, but among the other languages are some of which the average person knows very little, such as Pashtu, an Afghanistan tongue, and Bambara, an African Negro language.

Teaching the Koran

Moslem schoolboys are taught the Koran in a most interesting way. The verses he has to learn are written on the shoulder-blade of an ox with a brush and black ink. When he has learnt to repeat these perfectly, they are erased and other verses are written in their place. Thus he learns the more familiar passages of the Koran and the liturgy used in the mosque worship by heart.

The Mohammedan abhors translations! The Scriptures must be read in the original, whether intelligible or not. They may be explained in the language of the country (Chinese, Burmese, etc.). But Arabic is the "language of the angels" and, to perform worship, or to read the Koran in any other tongue is an insult to God and a path leading to every kind of heresy.

Muslims when dying usually have read to them this passage from the Surah *Ya Sin*: (Sale's translation): "But they stoned him and as he died it was said unto him, Enter thou into paradise! And he said, O that my people knew how merciful God hath been to me, for he hath highly honored me." Every Japanese home has a shrine in it set aside for devotion. In this shrine is a figure of Buddha, the lights that must be lit at evening, the wooden tablets on the "altar" upon which

must be written the names of the family's dead ancestors, the sacred lily in the vase. Religion plays a vital part in the lives of these Japanese, whom we so often call "pagan." The Japanese have not abandoned their devotion to religion. Especially now, during the war in China, every home altar and shrine is daily the scene of worship.

As we compare Christianity with the native religions of Japan and China, we are forced to admit two things. In the first place, the ethical teachings of Christianity are more diversified than those of Buddhism, Shintoism, Confucianism or any of the native religions. (That is, Christian ideals, Christian virtues, and consequently Christian vices, are more numerous.) But the startling second admission we are forced to make is that the native religions of the Orient are more perfectly practiced by their adherents than is Christianity in any country. If Christian missionaries could "point with pride" to a higher spiritual achievement than these Orientals, then would Christian missions have really great successes.

Christianity's Debt

The Feast of Hannukah each year reminds the world again of the debt that Christianity owes to Judaism. Commemorating the liberation of Israel from the Syro-Greek domination, this "Feast of Lights" each year recalls the heroic story of Judas Macabée and his brothers who refused to worship the images of Antiochus Epiphanes, and led a small band of faithful Israelites in a successful revolt. Had this not occurred, the probability is that Judaism would have dwindled to such a point that the stage would not have been set for the appearance of Jesus of Nazareth.

An Association of Godless Youth in the Soviet town of Saratow, has resolved to designate Jesus Christ as "Public Enemy No. 1." The Godless at Moscow have taken steps to establish the largest printing press in the world. The announced aim is to print anti-Christian and anti-religious books in forty-five languages. A budget of 11,800,000 rubles (about \$6,000,000) will be raised by voluntary gifts. Russia has closed 612 churches during 1937.

THEY SAY

Translations and Quotations from the Press of the World

PARIS BOMBSHELLS

The grim secret dominating the diplomatic atmosphere of Paris and Geneva, making it sultry and strained almost to thunder-point, is that the French Government and the French delegation at Geneva have in their possession absolute proof that among those deeply and directly implicated in the Etoile bombing are two members of the diplomatic staff of the Italian Embassy in Paris.

That is why the bombing in the Rue Presburg and the Rue Boissiere have shaken a great deal more than the West End of Paris.

The facts are indisputable. The explosive question is: What to do about them?

the crime because ever since the Stavisky scandal, they had been forced to give up their underground criminal contacts and "agents doubles."

On the contrary, the police acted only too well. The secret is getting harder and harder to keep. Already one newspaper outside France has been placed in possession of a substantial part of the dossier, and yesterday lifted a corner of the curtain.

Moreover, anyone who has been at all behind the scenes in Paris during the past two or three days knows that the pressure for a full exposure is growing fast, that in many quarters a sort of panic is beginning, and that scarcely a day goes by without a new terrorist affair—the latest at the moment of writing being the attack on the sub-

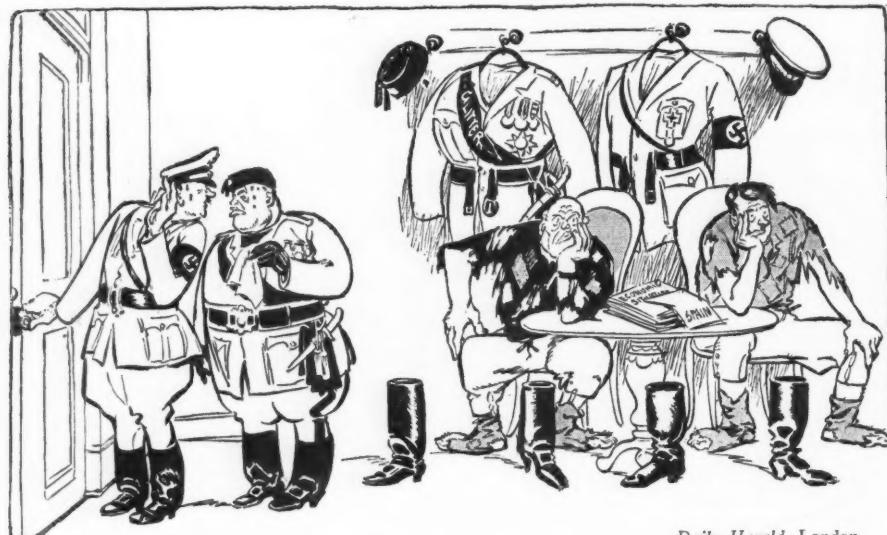
and much more dreadful Stavisky case, with high international politics instead of money as its central theme and outrageous murder instead of swindle as its principal feature.

The main defence of the guilty has been in the past to imagine incredulity in the public. That incredulity in France is wearing thin. People are aware of the existence of Governments who regard political terrorism as an ordinary political weapon—as witness the Marseilles murders, the Berthold Jacob case, and the murder of the Roselli brothers, at the moment when they were about to publish some articles on this very subject.

They are also aware of the existence of certain wealthy persons and organizations in other countries, including France, who are preparing for the sake of their factional interests to join hands with foreign powers against the rising will of Labor and "the masses" of their own people.

Moreover, the French public, though it has not seen the police dossier, has seen the following facts:—

- 1) On May 5th, two coaches of the express from Bordeaux to the Italian frontier were wrecked by a bomb found to contain 60 per cent tolite and 40 per cent hexogene.



"Now let's make ourselves comfortable—get down to our shirt sleeves—and think things out!"

There are those in the French Government who are at this moment urging their colleagues to recognize the awesome but unavoidable necessity of taking the bull by the horns and proclaiming the truth plainly to the world.

Those terrified by nightmare fears of how the Italian Government would react to such an exposure are still turning over and over the bombshell of information given them by the police, and trying to gain time to decide their course of action.

That was why a Paris newspaper, very close to the Radicals, a few days ago published the ridiculous story, explaining that the police could scarcely be expected to find anything out about

marine at Bordeaux and the Tunis murder.

Yesterday the affair was the subject of an urgent telephone conversation between M. Chaumet in Paris and M. Delbos in Geneva.

No decision was taken.

There is another reason for the fear of taking drastic steps. It is that there are several highly-placed persons—non-Italians—implicated in the affair, who are straining all their influence in high political circles to get the matter stifled, just as the true story of the killing of King Alexander and M. Barthou at Marseilles was stifled for similar reasons.

There are all the makings of a new



"He bombs babies! But, my child, he's making such a success of it!"

- 2) On June 1st, Guglielmo Cantelli, with a passport issued by the Italian authorities, was found placing a bomb in the tunnel which crosses the Franco-Spanish frontier from Cerbere to Port Bou. The bomb contained 60 per cent tolite and 40 per cent hexogene.

- 3) In the second week of August,

bomb containing 60 per cent tolite and 40 per cent hexogene exploded at Villeneuve-sur-lot and wrecked two American airplanes, supposedly destined for Spanish Government services.

4) On August 29th at Toussus, Paris, bombs charged with 60 per cent tolite and 40 per cent hexogene wrecked some more American airplanes.



United Feature Syndicate, Inc.
WHAT'S BACK OF IT?

5) Since the beginning of September a dozen bombs have been found at various French airdromes, and elsewhere, containing 60 per cent tolite and 40 per cent hexogene.

6) Hexogene and tolite are both explosives particularly suited to the needs of countries poor in certain resources of chemical manufacture.

France is not one of those countries. Tolite is manufactured in small quantities in certain French arms factories. Hexogene is hardly to be found in France, outside a few laboratories.

On the other hand, at the Avilcana factory, near Turin, hexogene and tolite are manufactured commercially on a large scale by a method discovered by an Italian chemist, protected by an Italian patent, which, however, is leased to Germany too, under a special arrangement.

7) Finally, the following questions particularly relating to the Etoile bombings are being asked in Paris:

Why were the concierges of the two very important big business office buildings out of harm's way instead of being at their posts at the moment of the explosion?

Why did M. Villey, sub-director of the Employers' Federation visit the buildings on that evening, and yet refrain from opening the two packages addressed to him?

Why was the meeting of the bureau of the Confederation, called for that evening, suddenly postponed?

The Week, London, published by Claude Cockburn.

Four Hundred Hand Grenades

The leftist press will certainly greet with glee the seizure of arms discovered in Paris and Rueil. Newspapers which systematically close their eyes to the communist armaments and to the enormous traffic in war material in favor of red Spain are about to unleash a campaign against the *cagoulards* (the hooded legion) and by extension against the national parties. We shall not be dupes of this hypocrisy.

The *cagoulards* are certainly, in the great majority of cases, patriots and men of good faith. The arms which they accumulated were certainly first of all intended for defensive purposes. They fear a violent uprising by the communists and are determined not to let themselves be exterminated without



New York World-Telegram
THREE MEN ON A HORSE

defending themselves, as did the Spanish middle class people, their brothers.

Nevertheless, the setting up of secret arsenals by whomsoever it may be for the purpose of civil war cannot be approved. France would rapidly move toward terrible anarchy if each political party were to start setting up complete armaments and fighting troops. But if the *cagoulards* are disarmed, it is also necessary to disarm the communists, who are much more dangerous.

We wish to point out that, in general, the *cagoulards* do not belong to any organized national party. They seem to be the extremists of all the rightist movements,—league members of the (royalist) *Action Francaise* who

remained on the periphery of the movement, former member of the Patriotic youth who favored more energetic actions, former dissenters before its dissolution of the Croix de Feu who did not find their organization sufficiently aggressive. Nobody, except themselves can assume the responsibility for their activities.

The great danger of a movement such as that of the *cagoulards*, as well as of secret political societies in general, is that it offers cause for all sorts of provocation. These good but somewhat exalted men who are associated with these groups are certainly unaware how easy it is for an agent of the government, or of the police, or of the communists, or of a foreign country to goad them into ill-considered and dangerous actions, or to use them as a means of diverting the public attention at an opportune moment.

—Henri de Kerillis, in *L'Epoque*, Paris.

German Sub-Machine Guns in Paris

The discovery in a Parisian railroad station of 2,300 German sub-machine guns which were sent to the arms dealer, Marchal, caused a lot of ink to be spilled.

Without intending to forecast what the investigation may reveal, we nevertheless wish to make a few remarks concerning this sensational affair which in importance goes far beyond the many arms discoveries recently divulged.

It is known that 2,300 sub-machine guns have been bought from a German firm on behalf of the government of Iraq. It is also known that that government had nothing to do with the affair, which had been arranged with



NEA
If you want to know who we are, we are gentlemen of Japan."

the connivance of a doorman of the legation, whom Marchal made to assume the role of military attache and who supplied the letterheads. This has been discovered because of the fact that Marchal happened to be in jail (for transport of arms) at the very



Arizona Republic
I've decided to compromise—

moment when the consignment arrived in Paris.

Newspapers reported immediately that these arms were for Spain. *Le Journal*, *L'Action Francaise* and others, without having any further information, at once wrote that they were intended for Red Spain. They were for Franco, according to other newspapers. It seems that we must look elsewhere for the truth.

First of all, let us point out that Marchal certainly must have been sure of his buyer when he gave this order. His explanation that he intended to sell the lot to the highest bidder is certainly not credible.

The lot was paid for when ordered. It is difficult to believe that an arms dealer who is not a novice would advance the considerable amount represented by this purchase (perhaps 2 or 3 millions) without being sure of getting his money back quickly. It is still more difficult to imagine that he intended to run the serious risk of keeping an arsenal of such importance in France, subject to indiscretions, denunciations, and possible risks.

Who is the client? Spain?

Franco's Spain does not need such camouflage nor secret transit to the French frontier to receive sub-machine guns. Through all its ports every day ships arrive loaded with supplies. And particularly, does it have facilities to secure arms manufactured in Germany, without borrowing another name.

Neither does republican Spain have to adopt such methods.

If these arms allegedly on the way to Iraq had been destined for Barcelona or Valencia, there was no reason why their delivery should have been provided for in Paris.

It would have been practical and in line with the generally adopted subterfuge to send them to Marseille and even to ship them there. Why drop this official and perfectly usual camouflage to run the unnecessary risk of unloading the arms in Paris and of a dangerous transport from this city to the Pyrenean frontier? This version will not stand one minute's examination. . . .

The 2,300 sub-machine guns bought in Germany have been paid for and delivered in Paris. It is there that Marchal was going to receive them, because it is there that he was supposed to deliver them. It is sufficient to remind that Marchal is now in prison under a similar charge. And that he is—the police know this as well as we do—the official supplier of the *Cagoulards*. We can even point out that it was his arrest which led the sûreté to take matters in hand energetically.

Unless we have proof to the contrary, we maintain that the 2,300 sub-machine guns—arms much more convenient for a revolt than for a war like the one being fought in Spain—were intended for the para-military extreme right organizations, to whose contraband armaments and threatening prep-

arations we have long been calling attention.

—Jean-Maurice Herrmann in *Le Populaire*, November 8.

Masked Imperialism

Pertinax, to whom we should be grateful for keeping his independence in the *Echo de Paris*, which is entirely subservient to Mussolini, is by no means the dupe of the Hitler-Mussolinian anti-communism, that screen behind which so many things are happening. "More than ever, to cover up their most dangerous designs, those who rule in Berlin and Rome will exploit the Communist pretext. All the obstacles in their way will be attributed to the Comintern. So that we may not let ourselves be deceived by these manoeuvres, we should not forget that in May, 1933, Adolf Hitler did not hesitate to renew the German-Russian treaty of 1926 and that on September 2, 1933, Mussolini concluded a non-aggression and friendship pact with Moscow. To these two dictators Russia then appeared as a precious reservoir of raw materials. In December, 1933, Mussolini received Mr. Litvinoff in Rome and tried to entice him into his revisionist projects. The change in the German attitude toward Russia dates from the negotiation concerning the pact of mutual assistance, initiated by M. Bartou in May, 1934. The changed attitude of Italy occurred much later."

—*Le Populaire*, Paris, November 7.



Glasgow Record
Marianne seems to be having more than her share of trouble these days.

ROME TO BERLIN AND BACK

After writing on the strategical background of the occupation of the Balearics, the importance of Minorca and the true meaning of the continued sending of Italian troops to Libya, the "Deutsche Informationen" goes on to quote passages revealing the spirit of the army literature of the Third Reich by describing Hitler's and Mussolini's plans of conquest in Tunis.

"The geo-political situation is too compelling for Italy ever to renounce Tunisia. The concessions which Mussolini made to Laval in January, 1935, during their discussions in Rome concerning the status of the Italians in Tunisia, can only be considered as a tactical expediency of transitory character."

"Sardinia looks in three directions, to the north, inviting and menacing, toward its sister island Corsica; to the south, longingly, toward Tunis; and to the west it threatens the French communication with North Africa, this life-line of the French empire."

"Not much of the friendly spirit of the Mussolini-Laval accord, concluded in January, 1935, has remained since the Abyssinian incident. Both parties know that the question of Tunis is not solved. Here in Tunis the Italians really have a moral right, if difficult pioneer work in the wilderness gives a claim to possession."

—Margret Boeri (Editor of *Berliner Tageblatt*): Das Weltgeschehen am Mittelmeer, Leipzig-Berlin, 1937, S. 11 und 275.

Italian Women Protest

We received on October 30th the following information from La Spezia.



HUMOR FROM TOKIO

South Wales Echo, Cardiff

Japan: Another funny move in self-defence from you, and I'm going to DECLARE WAR. (To-day Tokio informed the world that the Japanese Government is seriously thinking of declaring war on China owing to the latter persisting in waging hostilities.)

"Tunis, together with Biserta, represents a very valuable possession for France, but for Italy it is an ever-alluring objective."

"From a purely geographical point of view, Tunisia would round out the Italian empire most ideally, as it is situated closely to the south of the shores of Sicily. Italy made a great mistake in delaying so long with the occupation of Tunis that France had time to get there first in 1881."

Hummel-Siewert, *Der Mittelmeerraum*, published by von General Haushofer, Heidelberg-Berlin 1936, S. 68, 75 und 84.

Embarkation shall not take place from the port of Spezia but from Sevonto.

Several deserters have been arrested and brought to the ships handcuffed.

Some time ago many contingents of German volunteers passed through this city. They are concentrated in Parma,



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DRAGON'S JAWS.

Naples and La Spezia before embarking.

—Justicia e Libertad, Italian anti-fascist paper in Paris, November 5.

The German-Italian Pact

The supplementary Protocol provides that a permanent commission be formed looking toward defense measures, the purpose of which would be to combat the destructive activities of the Communist International. This may mean the creation of machinery for political and military cooperation. The problem is no longer to exchange police information and coordinate it in the various countries toward the repression of the activities of Communism. Apparently a kind of alliance has been created. The purpose has not been established very clearly. It may serve for everything. The text is so flexible that the most varied outcomes may ensue. Undoubtedly events and men will decide this. This much, however, can be said: Soviet Russia is not aimed at so much as is Great Britain. The three powers which signed this agreement would not be able to go to war against Russia, but any one of them can attack England or its dependencies. Germany can send its air fleet against London; Italy can menace Egypt and Japan can threaten Hong Kong and Singapore. The same situation applies to France.

—Pertinax in *Echo de Paris*. November 8.

During the month of October the embarkation of Italian troops for Franco and the sending of war material continued. The material which the war consumes is enormous and the factories are busy day and night replacing them.

The "volunteers" arrive in the town during the night in trucks and are assigned to the barracks. A few days ago a number of women demonstrated in front of one of these barracks to prevent the soldiers from leaving for the ships. Following this demonstration, the authorities decided that the

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, Nov. 10-Dec. 4

DOMESTIC

NOVEMBER 10—Secretary of Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr. asserts that the Roosevelt Administration will make determined efforts to balance the Federal budget through reduction of relief, farm and public works expenditures. He asks the cooperation of the business world and says that the Government will encourage business through revising taxes found to be inequitable.

The constitutional and dictatorial moves of President Getulio Vargas of Brazil in establishing a Corporate State seriously concerns Government leaders. Present reports indicate the formation of a Fascist Government in this hemisphere.

NOVEMBER 11—Senator Harrison, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee demands revision of controversial tax on undistributed profits. Prospects are believed excellent for tax changes relating to corporations as a way to spur business recovery. Further steps will be taken to stimulate a large-scale housing drive, and to promulgate regulations intended to encourage building of rental and sale properties by private limited dividend corporations.

Unofficial opinion in Washington indicates, despite Brazilian developments, a continuation of the hands-off policy in regard to South America and a strengthening of the good-neighbor doctrine reaffirmed at the Buenos Aires conference.

NOVEMBER 13—United States Army experimental division completes mechanized tests without precedent in American military history. An "army on wheels" comprising 9,200 men, 1,108 vehicles and more than 1,000 tons of equipment and supplies, covered 326 miles in 12 hours and 55 minutes. It was a final test of the mobility and efficiency of the "P.I.D." (proposed infantry division) and proved conclusively the need in modern war of motor-transported troops and equipment.

Congressional leaders indicated that, despite need for tax revision the special session would confine itself to wages and hours legislation, governmental reorganization, agricultural control, and regional planning.

NOVEMBER 14—The United States accepts invitation of President Stenio Vincent of Haiti to join with Mexico and Cuba in mediating the dispute between Haiti and the Dominican Republic over the massacre of Haitians on Dominican soil.

Secretary Wallace in annual report to President Roosevelt emphasizes principles that five years of agricultural and industrial recovery have clarified, and advocates that the industrial equivalent of his ever-normal granary plan in agriculture be put in practice. The Secretary's concept of what the national economic program should be is "to increase balanced production of the things that people really need and want (1) at prices low enough so that consumers can buy, but high enough so producers can keep on producing, (2) with income so dis-

tributed that no one is shut off from participation in consumption, except those who refuse to work, (3) with scrupulous regard for conservation of our remaining national resources and, (4) by means characteristic of our national democratic processes."

NOVEMBER 15—President Roosevelt opens the special session of Congress with a message full of recognition of the necessity for activating private capital in the interest of more stable recovery. Congressional leaders were encouraged by the President's words to put business aid at the top of its own must list.

Mayor La Guardia, president of the United States conference of Mayors, opens the annual conference session by stating emphatically that there had been no definite improvement in the unemployment situation in the cities. Mayor La Guardia predicts that a Federal deficiency appropriation would be necessary if the present downward trend continues.

NOVEMBER 18—James H. Rand Jr., president of Remington Rand Inc., and Pearl L. Bergoff, professional strike-breaker, are found not-guilty of violation of the Byrnes law which forbids the transportation of strike-breakers across State lines. Judge Carroll Hincks deliberately criticized the tactics of the prosecutor and assistant attorney general. His charge to the jury considered instrumental in the acquittal of the defendants.

NOVEMBER 19—President Roosevelt orders the Federal Trade Commission to make an immediate investigation of reports that monopolistic practices and other unwholesome methods of competition have contributed to the sharp rise in the cost of living this year.

NOVEMBER 20—Declaring that sit-down strikes will not be tolerated in Ohio, Governor Davey orders 2,000 National Guardsmen to stand by for duty at the Akron plants of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company. Simultaneously, 600 protesting workers quit plants to avoid violence.

Official Washington reports a nation-wide housing drive is under consideration by the President. Such a program would be designed as a strictly private business enterprise with the usual number of prominent capitalists heading the recovery campaign centered around it.

NOVEMBER 21—Senate Agriculture Committee defies President Roosevelt by refusing to contain the proposed farm benefits program within the financial limits recommended by the White House. A provision for blanket authorization for financing the new farm program is to be written into the bill thus leaving the problem of finding the money in the hands of the House.

NOVEMBER 22—The American Federation of Labor demands that the Black-Connelly Wages and Hours Bill be sent back to the House Labor Committee for reconsideration. The protest from labor coming through William Green is considered in some quarters as a virtual death

blow to the bill in its present form. Mr. Green said that the A. F. of L. would not endorse the bill and would continue to oppose the National Labor Relations Board and would oppose the creation of any similar board.

President Roosevelt intervenes to avoid a runaway session of Congress. He brings pressure to bear forcing the legislators to limit themselves to his program. The revision for aiding business recovery postponed until the regular session.

NOVEMBER 23—W. O. Douglas, chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission warns the nation's Stock Exchange they must raise their administrative and functional techniques in the public interest or face sharper regulations. This statement follows a break-down of self-regulation in the Exchanges, and is interpreted as the SEC's answer to criticism from business leaders who have been circulating reports that Government regulation has been responsible for the recent market decline.

NOVEMBER 25—Senate Committee on Agriculture recommends to the legislators that Federal compulsory control of the principle crops be incorporated in the general farm bill now taking precedence over all other legislative business in the special session.

Alleged union leaders who are members of the Communist party, or adhere to the (Communist) party line are reported to be urging the United Automobile Workers of America to declare "guerilla warfare" on the General Motors Corporation for the purpose of winning concessions that cannot otherwise be gained.

NOVEMBER 27—Stephen Early, White House secretary warns that President Roosevelt will veto any large appropriation made by Congress for which no compensating revenue legislation is enacted.

NOVEMBER 29—As a major stroke for ending the business recession President Roosevelt proposes a private housing drive involving the expenditure of from \$1,000,000,000 to \$16,000,000,000 within two years. In a message to Congress the President proposed an immediate revision of the Federal Housing Act to reduce the expense of financing construction and to spread benefits of that law to small and large scale housing alike.

NOVEMBER 30—President Roosevelt's message demanding restriction of road funds to the normal \$100,000,000 level, strikes Congressional revolt. Sectional interests dormant since 1933, reform independent blocs to fight Federal economy.

DECEMBER 2—William Green, president of the A. F. of L., and John L. Lewis, chairman of the C.I.O., meet for the first time in seven months to discuss terms that may settle organized labor's civil war.

Consideration of the Wages and Hours Bill is assured by 218 signatures on petition to discharge the Rules Committee from further consideration of measure. The Bill has been held by the Rules Committee since the last session of Congress.

DECEMBER 4—The Bureau of Budgets report indicates that President Roosevelt's promise of a balanced budget for the fiscal year 1938-1939 will be advanced through slashes amounting to \$800,000 below the sums appropriated for the year by Congress for Federal expen-

INTERNATIONAL

NOVEMBER 11—Germany hails new Brazilian constitution; United States not to interfere in Brazil.

NOVEMBER 13—Brussels Nine-Power Conference drafts measure mildly censuring Japan; adoption postponed. Viscount Halifax to visit Berlin. President Vargas bars pacts with European nations.

NOVEMBER 15—Fifteen nations at Brussels conference adopt resolution against Japan; Italy votes against motion, Scandinavian nations abstain.

NOVEMBER 16—Soviet Russia agrees to belligerent rights for Franco on condition of "substantial" withdrawal of volunteers. France forbids movement of men or munitions French Indo-China to China

NOVEMBER 17—Chairman of French Senate Foreign Affairs Committee discloses that ban on shipments from Indo-China was made under threat of Japanese reprisals. Completion of Anglo-American trade pact anticipated.

NOVEMBER 18—Despite President Quezon's suggestion of continued "dominion status," capitol circles insist upon unconditional independence of Philippines.

NOVEMBER 20—German Foreign Minister von Neurath invited to London following Hitler-Halifax talks.

NOVEMBER 21—Hitler declares that he does not expect to obtain colonies for five or six years.

NOVEMBER 22—All Chinese hopes for international assistance disappear as Brussels conference prepares to disband. Red Army organ states that Russia would assist Outer Mongolia, if attacked.

NOVEMBER 23—British cabinet disappointed with results of Halifax visit; Premier Chautemps and Foreign Minister Delbos of France invited to visit London.

NOVEMBER 27—United States, Great Britain, and France warn Japan concerning taking over of Shanghai customs.

NOVEMBER 28—Premier Chautemps and Foreign Minister Delbos find British in favor of making concessions to persuade Germany to cooperate.

NOVEMBER 29—Note to Japan demands that United States be consulted over changes in customs organization in China.

NOVEMBER 30—Washington investigates reports that duties on Japanese goods have been cut at Tientsin; American flag reported torn from launch in Whangpoo River. Following visit of Premier Chautemps and Foreign Minister Delbos, Paris and London hold that other nations must join study of colonial problem.

DECEMBER 1—Japanese to recognize rebel regime in Spain. French Foreign Minister sets out to visit Warsaw, Bucharest, Belgrade, and Prague; will persuade Czechoslovakia to make some concessions to German minority. Premier Milan Stoyadinovich of Yugoslavia to visit Mussolini.

DECEMBER 2—Foreign Minister Delbos reported carrying to Poland and Little Entente Anglo-French guarantee that Germany would not be given a free hand in Central Europe.

DECEMBER 4—France to back Polish claim for colonies.

SINO-JAPANESE WAR

NOVEMBER 11—Japanese plan land and river attack on Nanking.

NOVEMBER 12—Chinese end resistance in

Shanghai area, most troops withdrawing for interment in French Concession.

NOVEMBER 13—Japanese using six mobile columns to hasten Chinese retreat from Shanghai.

NOVEMBER 15—Chinese remove ministries to at least four temporary "capitals" in interior; in North, Japanese drive to within six miles of Tsinan, capital of Shantung.

NOVEMBER 19—Large crowds quit Nanking and troops move to front.

NOVEMBER 20—Body of Sun Yat-Sen to remain in Nanking despite evacuation.

NOVEMBER 21—Japanese threat to Nanking grows after capture of Soochow, key point of Chinese "Hindenburg line."

NOVEMBER 23—Behind-the-scenes peace talks spurred by Japanese successes; Russian planes go into action for first time as part of Chinese air force.

NOVEMBER 24—Two Japanese appointed to Shanghai customs board, replacing European officials.

NOVEMBER 28—Japanese thrusts towards Wuhu and Kwangteh threaten to isolate Nanking.

NOVEMBER 30—Japan finds warfare less costly than expected, only 500,000,000 yen of bonds having been issued out of authorized 2,400,000,000.

DECEMBER 2—Nanking troops blow up roads to hinder Japanese advances.

DECEMBER 3—Japanese marchers scattered by bombs during victory parade in Shanghai.

DECEMBER 4—Japanese abandon attempt to seize part of International Settlement after warning by United States Marine Officer.

DECEMBER 5—Nanking to be defended by 300,000; Japanese claim to be only thirty-five miles away.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR

NOVEMBER 13—President Azana, in broadcast, defies Anarchists and Communists as well as fascists, declaring that Spain must remain a republic.

NOVEMBER 18—Alvarez del Vayo resigns as Commissar-General of loyalist forces, as result of moderates' opposition.

NOVEMBER 20—Thirty-five loyalist planes bomb Saragossa, in retaliation for rebel raids on Aragon towns.

NOVEMBER 26—Rebel forces concentrated for drive on Almeria.

NOVEMBER 27—Rebel manifesto demands that loyalists yield by December 5 or face general drive.

Rebel fleet, released from duty in north, uses Majorca as base for blockade of loyalist ports.

NOVEMBER 28—General Franco announces naval blockade of all Spanish ports.

**FOREIGN
Brazil**

NOVEMBER 10—President Getulio Vargas and cabinet put into effect new constitution, dissolving Federal Congress, State Assemblies and Municipal Councils, and making Brazil a corporate state. U. S. fears spread of fascism in Latin America.

NOVEMBER 18—Army, Navy, and Fascists to parade on Flag Day in honor of President Vargas.

NOVEMBER 19—Copies of new Constitution reveal closest approach to complete authoritarian state yet established in Western Hemisphere.

DECEMBER 3—Decree by President Vargas ends all Brazilian political parties.

France

NOVEMBER 18—Secret police raids to break up a secret, armed, military organization uncover substantial arms supplies.

NOVEMBER 19—Premier Chautemps receives 399-160 vote of confidence after disclosures of activities of "Cagoulard" plot against the state.

NOVEMBER 20—Police find more arms caches.

NOVEMBER 21—Count of Paris, pretender to French throne, ordered to leave Switzerland; denies connection with "Cagoulards."

NOVEMBER 23—Minister of Interior Marx Formoy, following search of a Paris bank, reveals "Cagoulards" as Royalist group plotting to restore monarchy.

Germany

NOVEMBER 10—Colonel-General Goering's determination to speed up four-year plan held responsible for conflict with Dr. Hjalmar Schacht.

NOVEMBER 23—Hans Kerrl, Church Minister, announces disestablishment of Church as ultimate Nazi aim.

NOVEMBER 24—Walther Funk, Press Chief and State Secretary in Propaganda Ministry appointed to succeed Dr. Schacht as Minister of Economics; latter remains president of Reichsbank.

NOVEMBER 27—Hitler announces plans to make Berlin an "eternal" capital. German economy completely under Army rule following Dr. Schacht's retirement.

NOVEMBER 29—General Erich Ludendorff, World War commander, near death in Munich following operation.

DECEMBER 1—Church Minister Hans Kerrl reveals that 8,000 Catholic monks and lay brothers have been charged with various crimes during Nazi regime.

Great Britain

NOVEMBER 11—Long-awaited Coal Bill reveals that all coal will pass into ownership of State on July 1, 1942. Escaped lunatic breaks two-month silence before Cenotaph with cry, "Stop all this hypocrisy; you are deliberately preparing for war."

NOVEMBER 14—Anthony Eden reported to have threatened resignation over decision to send Lord Halifax to Berlin, made during his absence at Brussels.

NOVEMBER 22—Duke of Windsor's libel suit against author and publisher of *Coronation Commentary* ends in retraction and apologies.

NOVEMBER 23—Board of Trade figures show business for first 10 months of 1937 21 per cent ahead of same period last year.

DECEMBER 1—Premier Chamberlain opens new annex of London *Times*.

DECEMBER 2—War Minister Hore-Belisha's sweeping changes place younger generals in charge of War Council.

Russia

NOVEMBER 12—Acting Premier and Vice-President of White Russia removed from office in new purge.

NOVEMBER 14—Liquor sales restricted; 52 "American" bars closed in Moscow.

NOVEMBER 28—Foreign Minister Litvinov tells gathering of students that Russia is willing to cooperate with other nations, but will rely chiefly on its own defence forces.

DECEMBER 3—Stakhanovist drive put on to bring up Five-Year Plan schedule.

The Camera's Story of History-in-the-Making

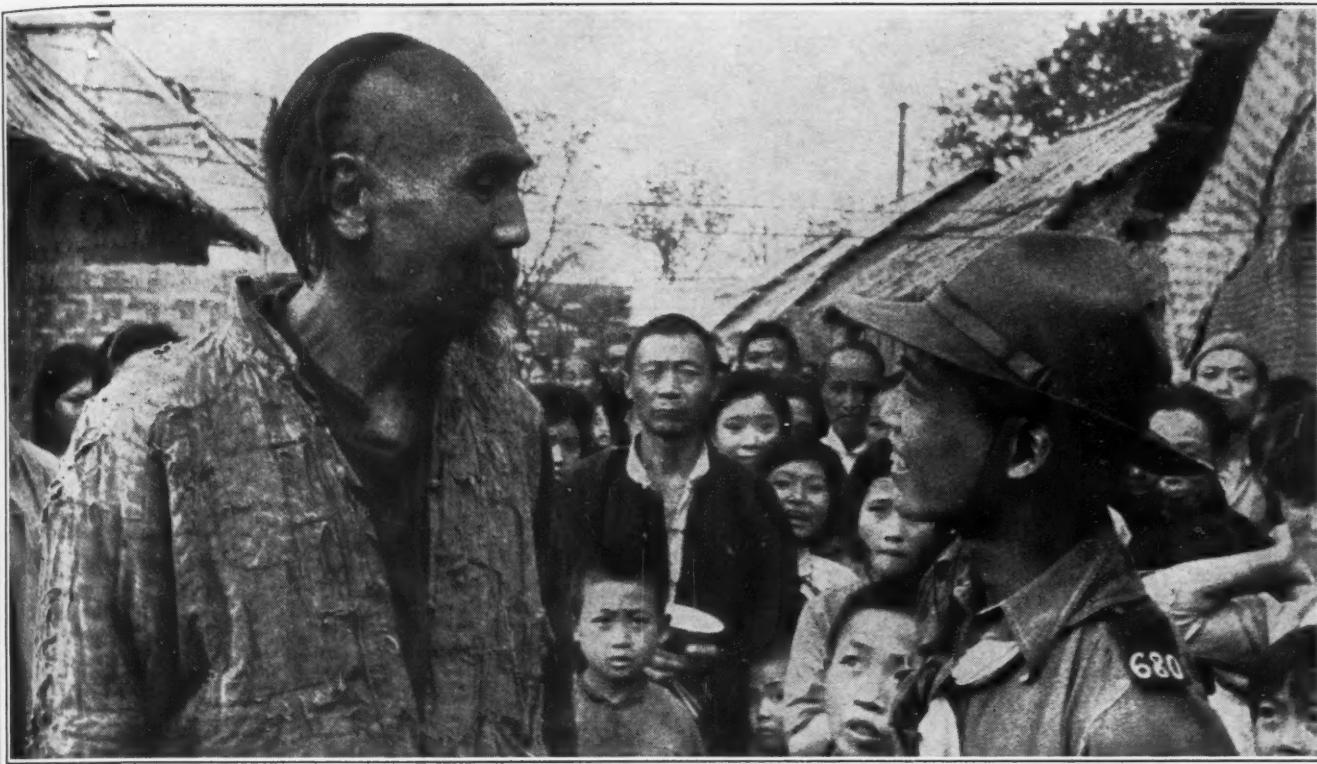
CHINA'S REFUGEES

THE role of the refugee is familiar to millions of Chinese. Flood, famine, epidemic have rearranged China's population centers—particularly in the small towns and villages of the interior—every few years. Unusual, however, has been the mass exodus from the larger cities, such as Shanghai, Nanking, Peiping. (Shanghai had a severe but brief taste of war six years ago with the punitive expedition of Japan but not many civilians left the city.) Fleeing today before the military might of Nippon are untold numbers of homeless Chinese, from city and village alike, few of them with any specific destination. Estimates of the total number of refugees range from 1,500,000 to more than 10,000,000. In the Shanghai area alone, hundreds of thousands sought comparative safety from Japanese bombs at the International Settlement, waiting for hours without food outside the barbed-wire gates. Not all were admitted. The three surviving members of a family (top right) which once numbered nine people, are among the thousands of Chapei civilians who fled after the huts went up in smoke as the result of a Japanese air raid, and who are massed outside the International Settlement. Only remaining avenue of escape over the Soochow creek was a railroad bridge. For days thousands trekked across the bridge in single file, walking the ties. One of them insisted on taking his cow along (center of photo) and took



ten minutes to cross the bridge. Several hours after the refugees were photographed on the Soochow railroad bridge, two Japanese planes, it was reported, swooped low, strafed civilians waiting to cross creek with machine-gun fire, leaving 30 dead, many more (cont. on next page)

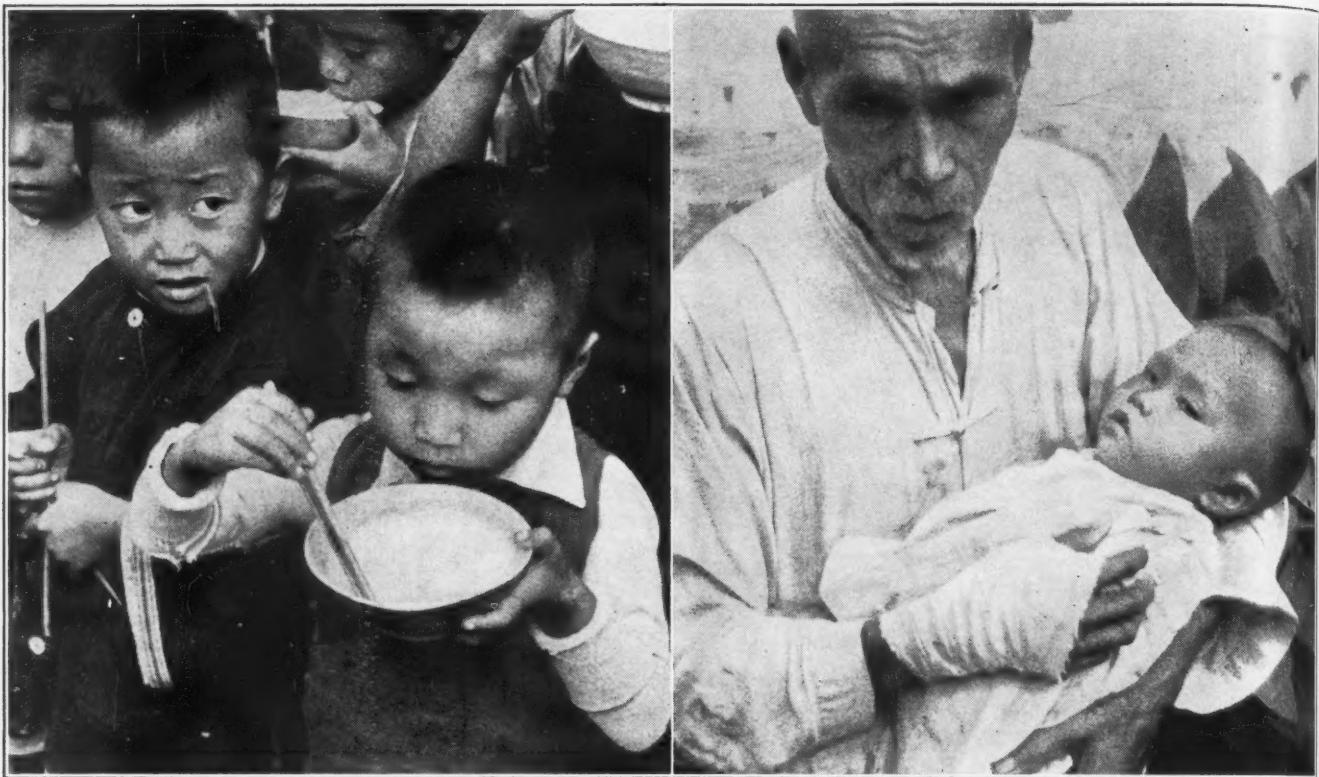




(cont. from preceding page) wounded. One of the planes flew too low, crashed into the creek. Most effective relief work is being done by foreign missionaries, which have set up refugee camps, fed and sheltered thousands, lost many of their own workers. American-trained Chinese boy scouts have helped the missionaries by organizing food lines, acting as messengers, taking care of small children. The American mission-fostered University of Nanking, valued at \$1,000,000 and the mission-owned Ginling College for Women, valued at \$500,000, are refugee centers and have made provisions to supervise

care of 200,000 civilians, a fraction of Nanking's population. (Students and classes have been transferred to Hankow; later the University will move to Chengtu in Szechuan Province.) One million pounds of rice have been moved to the university buildings. A China-born American, George A. Fitch, Soochow Y.M.C.A. executive, is director of the Nanking safety zone. Dr. Robert Brown, American medical missionary, is head of relief safety committee at Wuhu. Eleven Americans, three of them women, continue to stay on at Nanking to staff mission hospitals and direct refugee relief. The Ameri- (cont. on next page)





(cont. from preceding page) can embassy staff, headed by J. Hall Paxton, has moved aboard the *Panay*. China has promised Americans and other foreigners remaining in Nanking 100,000 Chinese dollars (approximately \$29,750) to maintain the safety zone in that city, has already paid one-fifth. China's war orphans, in the Shanghai-Nanking area alone, already number thousands. The smaller ones are being sheltered at missions and convents, thrive on a regular diet, but do not all realize that they have lost their parents. Found near Canton in a half-dazed condition was an injured Chinese carrying his one-year-old grandchild.

The 14 other members of the family all perished in a night air raid. Although most of China's villages are almost completely deserted in and near the war area, many farmers and gardeners hang on, working in their fields even when bombs are dropping within a thousand yards. Shanghai hails them as her heroes, for thus far their food products have kept the city from mass starvation. Contempt, not fear, for the black war eagles overhead is in the hearts and minds of these hardy children of China as they bend their backs to the Good Earth. (Photographs Copyright, 1938, Universal Newsreel, from Soibelman Syndicate.)





THE BALEARICS

TODAY, Italy dominates the Balearic islands of Majorca, Ibiza, and Formentera. Under pretext of aiding the Spanish rebels, Italian (and to a lesser degree the German) military and naval forces have seized strategic Majorcan positions. The Majorcan airdromes at Alcudia and Palma are occupied by an Italian and German aviation personnel of approximately 500 men, with 100 planes of all types. At Pollensa and Soller is based an heterogeneous fleet of submarines reputedly belonging to the Spanish rebels. Minorca, a scant 30 miles away, fears this threat. It is now controlled by the Spanish loyalists, but its main port, Mahon, is permanently under British domination. Here are Vickers cannon, (*cont. on next page*)

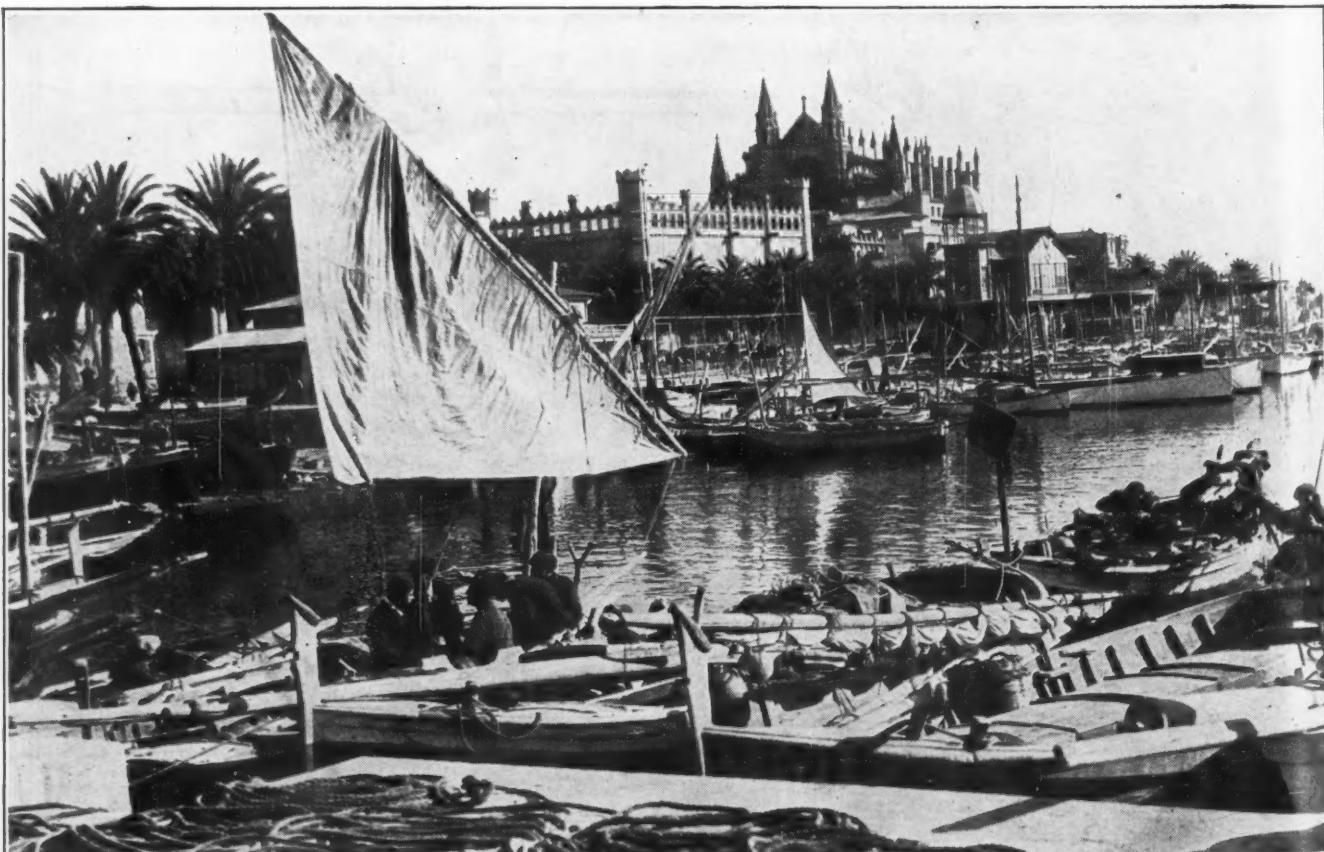
V. Adams



(cont. from preceding page) anti-aircraft guns, and a naval base. The Spanish Balearic Islands not only overlook the British route to the Far East, but they also lie athwart the Mediterranean life-line between France and France's North African possessions. In time of war the French army is incomplete without the half-million black auxiliaries conscripted in Africa. These African troops must be ferried from Oran in French Morocco and from Algiers in Algeria to Marseilles across the Mediterranean through the waters of the

Balearics. Britain and France are not ignorant of the danger attendant upon fascist occupation of the Balearics. In September they inaugurated the Nyon "pirate" patrol in the Mediterranean. The naval and air arm of both nations received a thorough testing in mutual cooperation under the guise of sinking "pirate" submarines of Italian origin. The island of Majorca is well known to many Americans. Following the market crash in 1929, stock brokers and jittery confidence men fled to the Balearics to nurse their bruised nerves

and deflated pocketbooks. However, today, Palma, the capital of the Balearics, is inhospitable to curious visitors. The Italian and German military have quarantined those parts of Majorca considered of military importance. In October, Bruno Mussolini, leading an Italian bombing squadron, raided the island of Minorca and the Spanish mainland, from the Majorcan airdrome at Palma. Not far from the airdrome is the famous Palma cathedral (below) near the quaint harbor. (*Photos from Pix, Times, Wide World.*)





GENERAL FRANCO'S NEXT MOVE

*What Will He Do to Break the Present Stalemate
in the Spanish Civil War*

AS CAN be seen on the map, General Franco's armies made little progress during the second year of war, and after reaching the gates of Madrid, on November 7, 1936, their advance became extremely slow. His desire to save prestige, by defending all the seized territories, and to be strong everywhere, resulted in the degeneration of a swift campaign into a war of position with its inevitable stalemate. The only important and real victory recently won by Franco was the capture of Gijon on October 21, 1937, which marked the end of loyalist resistance in the entire North, and released some 75,000 rebel troops and all rebel warships from the Bay of Biscay. The rebel navy was then shifted to the Mediterranean to tighten the blockade of loyalist ports (see pages 71, 72).

The newly released troops are reported concentrating on the Aragon front, where, by utilizing the short, interior lateral railway (Huesca-Saragossa-Calatayud) General Franco can menace the loyalists alternatively on the Guadalajara

and Aragon sectors, compelling the enemy to shift his troops over a three-times longer route (Lerida-Valencia-Madrid). The loyalists can not know until the last minute from which point their enemy will attack. Some predict that the decisive blow will be struck toward Lerida and along Ebro valley to the sea (arrow 1) which would separate Catalonia from the rest of Loyalist Spain. Others think that a thrust from Teruel salient to Valencia will be the next move (arrow 2).

The third possibility is a rapid advance from Toledo along the Aranjuez-Cuenca railroad toward Teruel (arrow 3) which, if successful, and if supported by pressure and diversions all along the Madrid-Guadalajara pocket, would enable Franco to fill that pocket quickly with rebel troops, thus eliminating the danger of being exposed on two sides. This action, successfully carried through, would force the surrender of Madrid, and would shorten and straighten the fantastically curved front.

MR. HITLER

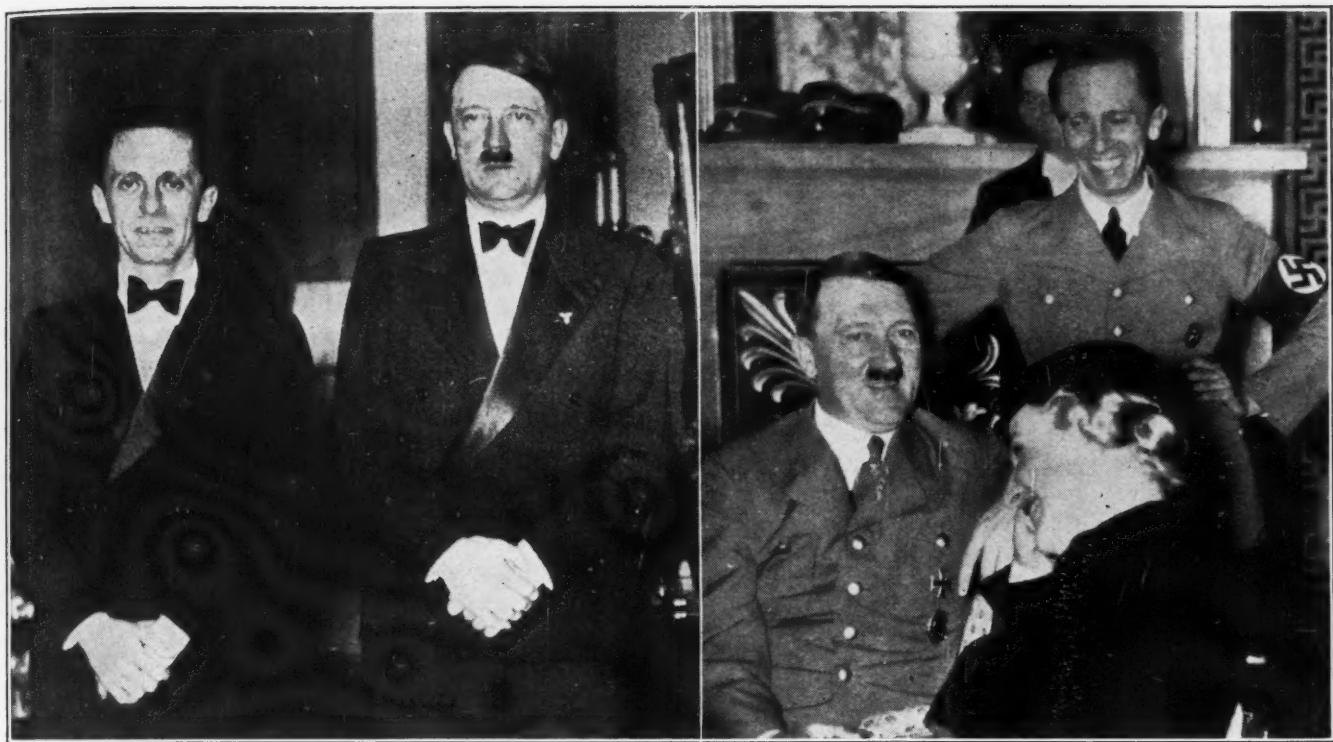
DER Fuehrer has a four-day working week. The other three days he spends at the Obersalzberg, an alpine chalet retreat called his "Magic Mountain" in the extreme southeastern corner of Bavaria. Here, as in the days before his rise to power, nazi strategy is planned. It was here that Adolph Hitler (father's name was Hiedler) wrote *Mein Kampf*, which has sold more than 2,250,000 copies, netted its author an estimated \$900,000. He receives no salary from the state. Hitler is fond of the Obersalzberg, in marked contrast to his strong dislike of Berlin and Munich. General Goering, a native Bavarian, and most frequent week-end at the chalet, persuaded him to buy the retreat, it is said, because of the easy access to the Austrian border. Der Fuehrer is able to relax completely at the chalet, greets neighbors, has long chats with Goering, spends hours in his study thumbing through papers and magazines. He seldom reads books, once said his favorites were the Red Indian novels of Karl May. Contrary to popular belief, Hitler has no pronounced dislike of



social affairs and formal attire, is seen frequently at private and state functions in the company of Frau and Herr Goebbels. The trio were photographed at Herr Goebbels' home on the occasion of a visit by Der Fuehrer to help celebrate the former's birthday. (Goeb-

bels is 40, Hitler 47.) Goebbels goes to great lengths to emulate his superior, aping him in the smallest detail. (Note identical style of tuxedoes, turn-down collar, similarity in position of hands, hunched shoulders.) The Propaganda Minister never (cont. on next page)





(cont. from preceding page) smiles nor laughs without awaiting a cue from Der Fuehrer, then he guffaws uproariously, as may be observed in the photograph. Hitler is 25 pounds heavier today than when he took office in 1933. He is seen below as he appeared

a few months ago, in contrast to appearance in 1933. Hitler has made great improvement as a radio speaker. At first, he would not come within several feet of the microphone, was nervous, almost frightened (lower right). Today, Hitler is oblivious to

presence of microphone, speaks out with as much vigor and emotion as he does at private meetings. His favorite diversions are music and the cinema, frequently seeing three movies a day in a special room of the State Building. (Photographs by International.)



Travel

COME TO THE FAIR

THE first World's Fair was held by King Ahasuerus, in the third year of his reign and the 483rd before Christ. It lasted 180 days, and you can read about it in the Book of Esther.

Ahasuerus, who "reigned from India even unto Ethiopia," saw to it that there was plenty to drink, installed gay decorations, colored the pavements, and placed his empire's rare and costly objects on exhibition. In general, he set the style for World's Fairs ever since, even asking his Queen to be a sort of Sally Rand. This she would not be, so he put her away.

King Ahasuerus took the virgin Esther to wife, and there were no more World's Fairs for a long time. In the Middle Ages there were market fairs and carnivals, but the truly international exposition—which is both a market fair and a carnival—was not born until 1851, when the Exposition of the Industry of All Nations was held in London, in the Crystal Palace. This Fair lasted 144 days, had 14,000 exhibitors, and displayed the first sewing machine, a Colt's pistol, and the Koh-i-noor. It was a great success.

America followed England's example in 1853 with another World's Fair, in New York. Since then, World's Fairs have been held in every corner of the land, and, in 1939, there will be two at once, one in New York and another in San Francisco.

Once upon a time the genesis of World's Fairs was not hard to trace, because they generally were designed to celebrate something or other. San Francisco's Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915 celebrated the completion of the Panama Canal, and it was a brilliant triumph. Philadelphia's Sesquicentennial in 1926 observed the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. It was a dismal failure, but in neither case did the declared *motif* have anything at all apparent to do with the result.

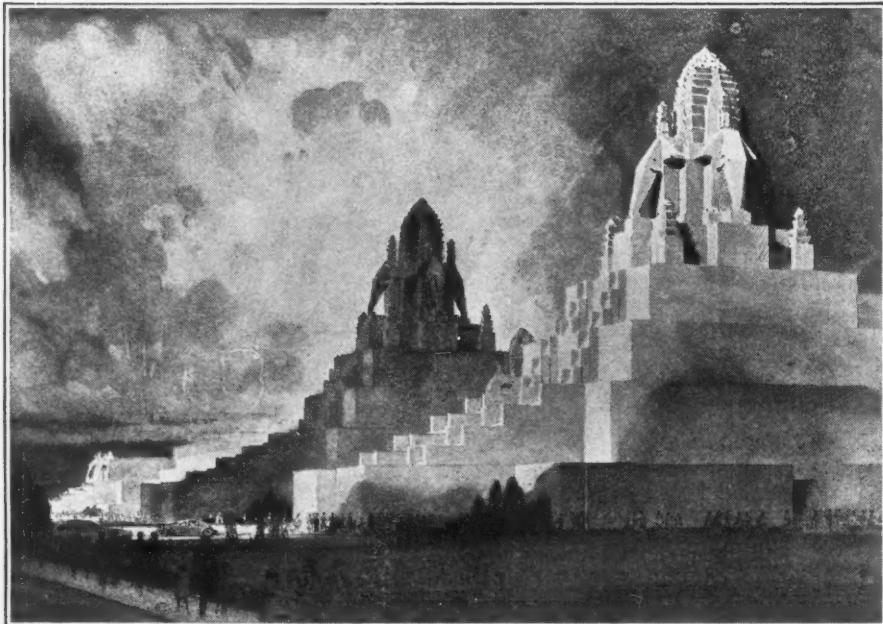
In the most recent cycle of World's Fairs, the necessity for a timely and justifying theme seems none too evident. San Diego was the frankest, and announced no reason at all for its 1935-36 Fair. Texas celebrated the centennial of the Alamo. A Century of Progress celebrated a century of

progress. In 1939, New York's Fair will be another sesquicentennial, marking the 150th anniversary of George Washington's inauguration. San Francisco started out to celebrate the new bridges, but the idea has developed a great deal farther than that.

Nearly every World's Fair in our time has been a parade of industrial progress. Chicago was a colossal example of this tendency, and, from advance plans, the New York Fair intends to do Chicago all over again on a vaster scale. This is precisely where the San Francisco Fair starts off on a brand new road with a brand new idea. The Golden Gate International Exposition will be, above all things else, a travel Fair, a tourist show. San Francisco will celebrate its great new bridges, but, in celebrating them, it will mark them as symbols of travel, the West's greatest business.

To make this a travel Fair rather than a display of industry and science, the creators of the Golden Gate Exposition undertook another job that has never been attempted before by any World's Fair: they enlisted eleven states (California, Oregon, Washington, Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming, Montana and Colorado) into a sort of tourist federation, with the Fair as the coordinating agency. They said to these eleven western states: "Here, we are going to have a World's Fair, but, to make it a real success, we must stimulate a general westward travel movement. That will help our Exposition, but it will also be the greatest thing that ever happened to you." By this maneuver, the Golden Gate Exposition becomes the first World's Fair in history that belongs to a group of sovereign states rather than to one city.

The idea was hatched by Clyde M. Vandenburg, who is a young veteran of both San Diego and the Texas Fairs, and consequently knows what the business is all about. When he took the job of promoting and publicizing the Fair he thought that the country might be a little weary of



CALIFORNIAN PYRAMIDS: Architect's sketch of the pyramid-like main gates to be built at the entrance to the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition.

World's Fairs; he saw also that he was up against the competition of New York, with its millions of dollars and people. Century of Progress, San Diego and Dallas were all identical. They stressed industrial products—the assembly line—and they were successful because they came in the middle of a Depression when people still looked longingly at machines and hoped they would run full-speed again. After 1933, prosperity began to return, and interest in machines considerably lessened. People saw them as the cause of many evils, and they sought to escape into a broader life, a life of more leisure and abundance, unbounded by cogs and bearings.

There had always existed a fascination in the West, and when the desire to escape machines became an important factor, this fascination increased. People wanted room, they wanted recreation and the outdoors, and they became determined to have them. When they thought of these things, they thought of the West, and thousands needed only the slightest inducement to pick up and go.

Eleven western states were eager to tie their wagons to Mr. Vandenburg's star. Railroads, bus lines and air lines clamored to spend some of their money to advertise the West in the East. The carriers were quick to see the advantage of the long haul, and so, in 1938 you are likely to be subjected to a promotional campaign costing more than \$3,000,000, the object of which will be to get you on a train, bus or plane (or even into your own automobile), moving westward, in 1939. If you don't get any farther than Colorado, that's all right, but San Francisco is pinning its hopes on the hunch that, once you're on the move, you'll want to go whole hog and see his Fair.

The result of all this is that 1939 may witness the greatest westward travel movement of the twentieth century. A recent survey by a national magazine showed that at least people's minds are sympathetic to the idea. Of persons scattered over the United States, the question was asked: "If you had to move, where would you want to go?" The answers indicated that 25.3 per cent of those willing to move at all would move to the Pacific Coast. The greatest percentage of those who didn't want to move—31.8 per cent—already lived there. The magazine concluded that this indicated pressure toward a major trend in population, which is just what the Fair would like to see in 1939.

The eleven western states have agreed to throw in together in a single exhibit building the story of recreation and leisure in the West. The Hall of the Western States promises to be one of the most unusual exhibits ever attempted at any Fair. As an example of what you may expect, the Oregon exhibit will show salmon climbing fish ladders over a miniature Bonneville Dam, wild antelope herded by Indians, and the like. There will be pageantry of this kind everywhere; and nowhere, say the Fair planners, will there be the prize-peach-in-a-jar type of exhibit.

This note of drama and vitality is being used as the key of the whole Exposition. Even the industrial exhibitors are expected to interpret the machine age in terms of the increased leisure and happiness it has made possible for mankind. Electrical exhibits will show how the harnessing of water power has meant more time and more fun for you and me. Railroads, instead of showing you their latest rolling stock, will tell you the story of the places the rolling stock rolls to. Even the architecture has avoided machine-age modernism, and has emphasized the fanciful and the romantic. The main gates have a mystical majesty steeped in Oriental memories.

In its strong travel motif, the San Francisco Fair goes even farther afield than the eleven western states. Although these states are the heart and soul of the Fair, the entire Pacific community of nations is accented in the Exposition's subtitle, "A Pageant of the Pacific." There are various reasons why this is so, one of the chief being that today is, for the entire world, a dawn-day of interest in Pacific relations. San Francisco is America's open door to the Orient, to the Antipodes, to the South Seas, and to much of Latin America. The city's history is inextricably entangled with the romance of the western sea.

Successful scheduling of transpacific air service gave point to this idea, and, as it broadened in scope, the Golden Gate International Exposition became a World's Fair emphasizing travel not only for the eleven western states, but for the entire Pacific Basin.

Pacific nations were as quick to see the value of a Pacific Fair as the western states were keen for a Western Fair. For instance, Japan was one of the first nations aboard, enthusiastically planning to show its cultural and recreational features in a colorful exhibit. China is hard-pressed for cash, so the San Francisco colony of Chinese

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TREASURE ISLAND: The small strip in the center of San Francisco Bay is the site of the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition. The island is a man-made creation, army engineers having dredged it up over a period of a year and a half.

—largest Chinatown outside China, San Franciscans boast—patriotically took up the yellow man's burden and will reply to Japan with a \$1,200,000 Chinese Village, designed to illuminate the grace and charm of a great people. There are even some persons who suggest that China and Japan could save a lot of money by saying it with exhibits instead of with bullets.

Incidentally, many San Franciscans recall that one of the reasons for the

success of the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition was the fact that Europe was at war, and the belligerents were anxious to use the Fair to curry American favor and also to store their art treasures until the big guns should become less critical. History may repeat itself in 1939 with two great fairs running concurrently.

A World's Fair at its worst is an overgrown carnival with a sales floor attached, but at its best it is a microcosm, a mirror of at least one view of terrestrial activity. The particular view that the San Francisco Fair plans to reflect is, briefly, the More Abundant Life, as made possible by the machine age. Whether the More Abundant Life is here now or is just around the corner is an idea which the Fair people have not opened to debate, but it is, at any rate, a fresh approach toward the whole World's Fair business, and it will be interesting to watch how the westbound travelers take it, if and when they start rolling across plains and mountains in 1939.

They will find one thing at least: in its rôle as microcosm the Golden Gate Exposition is uniquely situated. It has none of the rest of the world rubbing its shoulder; it is, in fact, on an island in the middle of the bay, connected to reality only by the highly unreal steel spans of the San Francisco-Oakland Bridge. This is the longest bridge in the world, and the island is said to be the largest ever



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THE NEW YORK CITY CANCER COMMITTEE

made by man. It was completed in the Fall of 1937 by Army Engineers who dredged it up, every speck of it, over a period of a year and a half, digging 20,000,000 cubic yards of sand to make it. It is no tide-flat reclamation, either. It stands out where the water used to be as deep as 30 feet, where the currents were swift and vicious, and it ranks with the bridges themselves for sheer engineering daring. After the Exposition has sent its last customer home, tired but happy, the island will be transformed into an airport, one of the few ever constructed in the geographical center of a population of 2,000,000. From the site (which is called Treasure Island) to either San Francisco or Oakland is a mere 10-minute ride, a great improvement over most airport situations. Both the new bridges are in full view of the island, and so is the famous San Francisco skyline. So are the blue Berkeley hills, the University of California's Campanile, and stark but lovely Mount Tamalpais.

A great part of the \$18,000,000 construction program is either completed or under way. Two of the world's largest hangars, which will be used as exhibit palaces during the Fair, are completed. An airport terminal, to serve as the Exposition's administration building, is also finished. Framework on all the main exhibit halls (which will be torn down after the show is over) has been erected. Ferry slips are complete. A 400-foot central tower, tentatively called the Spire to the Sun, is being built. The Exposition engineers report themselves far ahead of their schedule, and there is no doubt about opening on opening day—February 18, 1939.

Well, it's a long while since King Ahasuerus held his World's Fair. Times have changed and the only sure thing that the San Francisco Fair will have that he had is color on the sidewalks. However, the Golden Gate Exposition probably will have no Esther or even a Sally Rand (although you never can tell about things like that), but, on the other hand, King Ahasuerus didn't have the More Abundant Life.

OPPORTUNITY FOR AGENTS

Applications are now being accepted by CURRENT HISTORY for district representatives to look after the magazine's numerous new and renewal subscriptions.

Previous experience, while helpful, is not essential. Applicants are required to furnish indications of their responsibility and integrity. Necessary materials will be supplied by the magazine. For complete details, write to

CURRENT HISTORY
63 Park Row New York, N. Y.

HERE AND THERE

A new fashion in naming children is sweeping Yugoslav Macedonia. Kitchen Range, Philadelphia, Gentlemen, Chicago, Subway—these and many other names of places and things familiar to Americans are in favor among parents who are faced with the problem of naming their progeny. The style developed when native citizens visited America and other European centers and returned with enlarged vocabularies.

A promise given by Edward III in 1328 has just been fulfilled. According to the terms of a treaty between England and Scotland, historic documents were borrowed by Britain and were to be returned the same year. The documents include the marriage contract between Eric, king of Norway, and Margaret, daughter of Alexander III, king of Scotland; and the charter of King Edward I, dated 1189, restoring the liberties of Scotland. The errant documents will be put on public display at the Register House in Edinburgh.

Oath given by clerk in Darwin Supreme Court, Australia, to aborigines who are called to testify in court:

"Now listen. Want you talka true feller and tella big feller boss on top. Talk loud altogether men in court want hear you. Talk true all-a-time, not what other black boy bin tellum you. Talk what you savvy clear alonga your own eye, not what been hear alonga your own ear."

Questions and Answers

Questions on Page 6

1. A strike that is conducted by union men without the authority of their superiors.
2. Federal Housing Administrator.
3. Brazil.
4. Argentina.
5. Brazil is now a corporate state under Dictator Vargas.
6. Lawrence W. Cramer.
7. Cotton is the chief export commodity of the U. S.
8. John Nance Garner.
9. Victor Emanuel 3rd. He has ruled since 1900.
10. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia.
11. Treasury Department.
12. Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt.
13. A system devised to care for the unemployed. It is being used extensively in England.
14. Belgium.
15. The embargo was lifted in June 1936.
16. Exactly the opposite happened.
17. China's ambassador to the U. S. is Dr. Chenting T. Wang.
18. Simon Bolivar.
19. Woodrow Wilson crossed the Atlantic to help draft a peace treaty with Germany.
20. He was the President of the A. F. of L.
21. Herbert Clark Hoover, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, George Herman Ruth, Charles Augustus Lindbergh and Thomas Alva Edison.
22. He was elected President of the United Mine Workers Union of America.
23. 695,000,000.

The person referred to as "big feller boss on top" is the judge. The oath has come into general use, it is explained, after many experiments and experiences revealed that it was the one most likely to be understood and respected.

What is believed to be the first passport ever issued has recently been auctioned off in London. The historic document was granted in 1629 to a gentleman secretary traveling from Northern Europe to Vienna. It "asks that his passage should not be held up at frontiers and customs barriers," and was given by Reingold Count of Collalto, a foreign secretary of Ferdinand II, emperor of Germany. The parchment was handed down from generation to generation in an old Viennese family, finally coming into the hands of a young Englishman, who put it up at auction.

The good citizens of Chalfont St. Giles, near London, used to think that the lack of rain caused the frequent disappearance of their favorite river, the Misbourne. But the river bed would remain dry for years at a time, regardless of the rainfall, and its unpredictability was highly puzzling. Last March, the Misbourne reappeared after its bed had been dry for three years. It vanished again just outside the town and for the distance of two miles the bed was again dry. Experts claim that the river is the innocent victim of thousands of rabbit holes appearing in the locality. It is thought that the water flows into the holes and percolates into the chalky ground. A local legend has it that the reappearance of the river portends a prosperous year.

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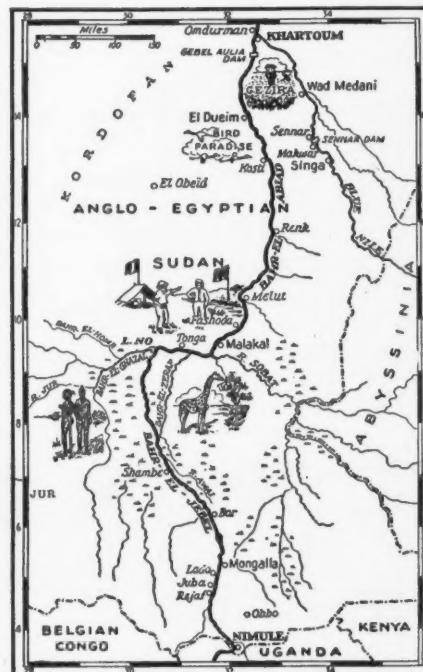
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NON-FICTION OF 1937

(Continued from page 7)

members of the Supreme Court that has blocked the way toward fundamental economic reform.

But Mr. Ernst, unlike many other critics of the "nine old men," does not propose to enlarge, reduce, or dissolve altogether, the Court. Nor does he favor a number of other suggestions which would invalidate all but five-to-four decisions, or which would take away the right of the Court to hear appeals. Mr. Ernst would simplify things. He believes that democracy's needs can best be served by maintaining a higher judiciary providing the *ultimate power* remains with the people—specifically, by Congress. Congress has the right to override a veto of the President by a two-thirds vote. Why should it not exercise a similar democratic use of power over the Supreme Court?



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